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THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

IN EIGHT VOLUMES

VOL. III.

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THE WORKS OF

John Milton

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PROSE WORKS.

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Of *Reformation* touching Church Diſcipline in *England*, and the Cawses that hitherto have hindred it.

Two Bookes. *Written to a Freind.*

Sir,

Midſt thoſe deepe and retired thoughts, which with every man Chriſtianly inſtructed, ought to be moſt frequent, of *God*, and of his miraculous *ways*, and *works*, amongſt men, and of our *Religion* and *Worſhip*, to be perform'd to him; after the ſtory of our Saviour *Chriſt*, ſuffering to the loweſt bent of weakneſſe, in the *Fleſh*, and preſently triumphing to the higheſt pitch of *glory*, in the *Spirit*, which drew up his body alſo, till we in both be united to him in the Revelation of his Kingdome: I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole paſſion of pitty, on the one ſide, and joy on the other, then to conſider firſt, the foule and ſudden corruption, and then after many a tedious age, the long-deferr'd, but much more wonderfull and happy reformation of the *Church* in theſe latter dayes. Sad it is to thinke how that Doctrine of the *Goſpel*, planted by teachers Divinely inſpir'd, and by them winnow'd, and ſifted, from the chaffe of overdated

Ceremonies, and refin'd to ſuch a Spirituall height, and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumſtances of time and place, were purifi'd by the affections of the regenerat Soule, and nothing left impure, but ſinne; *Faith* needing not the weak, and fallible office of the Senſes, to be either the Vſhers, or Interpreters of heavenly Myſteries, ſave where our Lord himſelfe in his Sacraments ordain'd; that ſuch a Doctrine ſhould through the groſſeneſſe, and blindneſſe, of her Profeſſors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag ſo downwards, as to backſlide one way into the Jewiſh beggery of old caſt rudiments, and ſtumble forward another way into the new-vomited Paganiſme of ſenſual Idolatry, attributing purity, or impurity, to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the *Spirit* to the outward, and cuſtomary ey-Service of the body, as if they could make *God* earthly, and fleſhly, becauſe they could not make themſelves *heavenly*, and *Spirituall:* they began to draw downe all the Divine intercours, betwixt *God*, and the Soule, yea, the very ſhape of *God* himſelfe, into an exterior, and bodily forme, urgently pretending a neceſſity, and obligement of joyning the body in a formall reverence, and *Worſhip* circumſcrib'd, they hallow'd it, they fum'd it, they ſprincl'd it, they be deck't it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure Linnen, with other deformed, and fantaſtick dreſſes in Palls and Miters, gold, and guegaw's fetcht from *Arons* old wardrope, or the *Flamins veſtry:* then was the *Prieſt* ſet to *con his motions*, and his *Poſtures* his *Liturgies*, and his *Lurries*, till the Soule by this meanes of over-bodying her ſelfe, given up juſtly to fleſhly delights, bated her wing apace downeward: and finding the eaſe ſhe had from her viſible, and ſenſuous collegue the body in performance of *Religious* duties, her pineons now broken,

and flagging, ſhifted off from her ſelfe, the labour of high ſoaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull, and droyling carcas to plod on in the old rode, and drudging Trade of outward conformity. And here out of queſtion from her pervers conceiting of *God*, and holy things, ſhe had faln to beleeve no *God* at all, had not cuſtome and the worme of conſcience nipt her incredulity hence to all the duty's of evangelicall grace inſtead of the adoptive and cheerefull boldneſſe which our new alliance with *God* requires, came Servile, and thrallike feare: for in very deed, the ſuperſtitious man by his good will is an Atheiſt; but being ſcarr'd from thence by the pangs, and gripes of a boyling conſcience, all in a pudder ſhuffles up to himſelfe ſuch a *God*, and ſuch a *worſhip* as is moſt agreeable to remedy his feare, which feare of his, as alſo is his hope, fixt onely upon the *Fleſh*, renders likewiſe the whole faculty of his apprehenſion, carnall, and all the inward acts of *worſhip* iſſuing from the native ſtrength of the SOVLE, run out laviſhly to the upper ſkin, and there harden into a cruſt of Formallitie. Hence men came to ſcan the *Scriptures*, by the Letter, and in the Covenant of our Redemption, magnifi'd the external ſigns more then the quickning power of the *Spirit*, and yet looking on them through their own guiltineſſe with a Servile feare, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them againe, they knew not how to hide their Slaviſh approach to *Gods* beheſts by them not underſtood, nor worthily receav'd, but by cloaking their Servile crouching to all *Religious* Preſentments, ſomtimes lawfull, ſometimes Idolatrous, under the name of *humility*, and terming the Py-bald frippery, and oſtentation of Ceremony's, decency.

Then was Baptiſme chang'd into a kind of exorciſme, and water Sanctifi'd by *Chriſts* inſtitute,

thought little enough to wash off the originall Spot without the Scratch, or crosse impression of a Priests fore-finger: and that feast of free grace, and adoption to which *Christ* invited his Disciples to sit as Brethren, and coheires of the happy Covenant, which at that Table was to be Seal'd to them, even that Feast of love and heavenly-admitted fellowship, the Seale of filiall grace became the Subject of horror, and glouting adoration, pageanted about, like a dreadfull Idol: which sometimes deceve's wel-meaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility, which indeed, is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish Sacrifice, and the rudiments of the world, as Saint *Paul* to the *Colossians* explaineth, before a savory obedience to *Christs* example. Such was *Peters* unseasonable Humilitie, as then his Knowledge was small, when *Christ* came to wash his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs straine courtesy with his Master, and falling troublesomly upon the lowly, alwise, and unexaminable intention of *Christ* in what he went with resolution to doe, so provok't by his interruption the meeke *Lord*, that he threat'nd to exclude him from his heavenly Portion, unlesse he could be content to be lesse arrogant, and stiff neckt in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the *Depravities* of the *Church*, and how they sprung, and how they tooke increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many darke Ages, wherein the huge overshadowing traine of *Error* had almost swept all the Starres out of the Firmament of the *Church*; how the bright and blissfull *Reformation* (by Divine Power) strook through the black and settled Night of *Ignorance* and *Anti-christian Tyranny*, me thinks a soveraigne and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosome of him that reads or heares; and the sweet Odour of the returning *Gospell* imbath his Soule with

the fragrancy of Heaven. Then was the Sacred BIBLE ſought out of the duſty corners where prophane Falſhood and Neglect had throwne it, the *Schooles* opened, *Divine* and *Humane Learning* rak't out of the *embers* of *forgotten Tongues*, the *Princes* and *Cities* trooping apace to the new erected Banner of *Salvation;* the *Martyrs*, with the unreſiſtable *might* of *Weakneſſe*, ſhaking the *Powers* of *Darkneſſe*, and ſcorning the *fiery rage* of the old *red Dragon*.

The pleaſing purſuit of theſe thoughts hath oft-times led mee into a ſerious queſtion and debatement with my ſelfe, how it ſhould come to paſſe that *England* (having had this *grace* and *honour* from GOD to bee the firſt that ſhould ſet up a Standard for the recovery of *loſt Truth*, and blow the firſt *Evangelick Trumpet* to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill, the new Lampe of *ſaving light* to all Chriſtendome) ſhould now be laſt, and moſt unſettl'd in the enjoyment of that *Peace*, whereof ſhe taught the way to others; although indeed our *Wicklefs* preaching, at which all the ſucceding *Reformers* more effectually lighted their *Tapers*, was to his Countrey-men but a ſhort blaze ſoone dampt and ſtifl'd by the *Pope*, and *Prelates* for ſixe or ſeven Kings Reignes; yet me thinkes the *Precedencie* which GOD gave this *Iland*, to be the firſt *Reſtorer* of *buried Truth*, ſhould have beene followed with more happy ſucceſſe, and ſooner attain'd Perfection; in which, as yet we are amongſt the laſt: for, albeit in *purity* of *Doctrine* we agree with our Brethren; yet in Diſcipline, which is the *execution* and *applying* of *Doctrine* home, and laying the *ſalve* to the very *Orifice* of the *wound;* yea tenting and ſearching to the *Core*, without which *Pulpit Preaching* is but ſhooting at Rovers; in this we are no better then a *Schiſme*, from all the *Reformation*, and a ſore ſcandall to them; for while wee

hold *Ordination* to belong onely to *Bishops*, as our *Prelates* doe, wee must of necessity hold also their *Ministers* to be no *Ministers*, and shortly after their *Church* to be no *Church*. Not to speake of those senceleſſe *Ceremonies* which wee onely retaine, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to *Rome*, and serving meerely, either as a mist to cover nakednesse where true *grace* is extinguisht; or as an Enterlude to set out the *pompe* of *Prelatisme*. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore and the paines, to enquire more particularly, what, and how many the cheife causes have been, that have still hindred our *Uniforme Consent* to the rest of the *Churches* abroad, (at this time especially) when the *Kingdome* is in a good *propensity* thereto; and all Men in Prayers, in Hopes, or in Disputes, either for or against it.

Yet will I not insist on that which may seeme to be the cause on GODS part; as his judgement on our sinnes, the tryall of his owne, the unmasking of Hypocrites; nor shall I stay to speake of the continuall eagernes and extreame diligence of the *Pope* and *Papists* to stop the furtherance of *Reformation*, which know they have no hold or hope of *England* their lost Darling, longer then the *goverment* of *Bishops* bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may bee seene by the Booke of *Santa Clara* the Popish *Preist* in defence of *Bishops*, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own *Prelats* out of an ominous feare had writ on the same *Argument;* as if they had joyn'd their forces like good Confederates to support one falling *Babel*.

But I shall cheifly indeavour to declare those Causes that hinder the forwarding of *true Discipline*, which are among our selves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquirie into our *Fore-Fathers dayes*, and into *our Times*. HENRY the 8. was the first that

rent this *Kingdome* from the *Popes* Subjection totally; but his Quarrell being more about *Supremacie*, then other faultineſſe in *Religion* that he regarded, it is no marvell if hee ſtuck where he did. The next default was in the *Biſhops*, who though they had renounc't the *Pope*, they ſtill hugg'd the *Popedome*, and ſhar'd the Authority among themſelves, by their ſixe bloody Articles perſecuting the *Proteſtants* no ſlacker then the *Pope* would have done. And doutles, when ever the *Pope* ſhall fall, if his ruine bee not like the ſudden down-come of a Towre, the *Biſhops*, when they ſee him tottering, will leave him, and fall to ſcrambling, catch who may, hee a Patriarch-dome, and another what comes next hand; as the French Cardinall of late, and the *See* of *Canterbury* hath plainly affected.

In *Edward* the 6. Dayes, why a compleate *Reform* was not effected, to any conſiderate man may appeare. Firſt, he no ſooner entred into his Kingdome, but into a Warre with *Scotland;* from whence the Protector returning with Victory had but newly put his hand to repeale the 6. *Articles*, and throw the Images out of *Churches*, but Rebellions on all ſides ſtir'd up by obdurate Papiſts, and other Tumults with a plaine Warre in *Norfolke*, holding tack againſt two of the Kings *Generals*, made them of force content themſelves with what they had already done. Hereupon follow'd ambitious Contentions among the *Peeres*, which ceas'd not but with the Protectors death, who was the moſt zealous in this point: and then *Northumberland* was hee that could doe moſt in *England*, who little minding *Religion*, (as his Apoſtacie well ſhew'd at his death, bent all his wit how to bring the Right of the *Crowne* into his owne Line. And for the *Biſhops*, they were ſo far from any ſuch worthy Attempts, as that they ſuffer'd themſelvs to be the commō ſtales to countenance with their proſ-

tituted Gravities every Politick Fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the Potent *Statiſts* pleas'd to employ them. Never do we read that they made uſe of their Authority and high Place of acceſſe, to bring the jarring Nobility to *Chriſtian peace*, or to withſtand their diſloyall Projects; but if a Toleration for *Maſſe* were to be beg'd of the King for his Siſter MARY, leſt CHARLES the Fifth ſhould be angry; who but the grave Prelates *Cranmer* and *Ridley* muſt be ſent to extort it from the young King? But out of the mouth of that godly and Royall *Childe*, Chriſt himſelfe return'd ſuch an awfull repulſe to thoſe halting and time-ſerving *Prelates*, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without ſhame and teares.

Nor was this the firſt time that they diſcover'd to bee followers of this World; for when the Protectors Brother, Lord *Sudley*, the Admirall through private malice and mal-engine was to loſe his life, no man could bee found fitter then Biſhop *Latimer* (like another Doctor *Shaw*) to divulge in his Sermon the forged Accuſations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the People, who elſe was thought would take ill the innocent mans death, unleſſe the Reverend *Biſhop* could warrant them there was no foule play. What could be more impious then to debarre the Children of the King from their right to the Crowne? To comply with the ambitious Uſurpation of a Traytor; and to make void the laſt Will of HENRY 8. to which the Breakers had ſworne obſervance? Yet Biſhop *Cranmer*, one of the Executors, and the other *Biſhops* none refuſing, (leſt they ſhould reſiſt the Duke of *Northumberland*) could find in their Conſciences to ſet their hands to the diſinabling and defeating not onely of Princeſſe MARY the *Papiſt*, but of ELIZABETH the *Pro-*

teſtant, and (by the *Biſhops* judgement) the Lawfull Iſſue of King HENRY.

Who then can thinke, (though theſe *Prelates* had ſought a further *Reformation*) that the leaſt wry face of a *Politician* would not have huſh't them. But it will be ſaid, Theſe men were *Martyrs:* What then? Though every true Chriſtian will be a *Martyr* when he is called to it; not preſently does it follow that every one ſuffering for Religion, is without exception. Saint *Paul* writes, that *A man may give his Body to be burnt*, (meaning for Religion) *and yet not have Charitie:* He is not therfore above all poſſibility of erring, becauſe hee burnes for ſome Points of Truth.

Witnes the *Arians* and *Pelagians* which were ſlaine by the Heathen for *Chriſts* ſake; yet we take both theſe for no true friends of *Chriſt*. If the *Martyrs* (ſaith *Cyprian* in his 30. Epiſtle) decree one thing, and the *Goſpel* another, either the *Martyrs* muſt loſe their Crowne by not obſerving the *Goſpel* for which they are *Martyrs;* or the Majeſtie of the *Goſpel* muſt be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopt by the *novelty* of any other *Decree*.

And heerewithall I invoke the *Immortall* DEITIE *Reveler* and *Judge* of Secrets, That wherever I have in this BOOKE plainely and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemiſhes of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Chriſtian *Emperors;* or have otherwiſe inveighed againſt Error and Superſtition with vehement Expreſſions: I have done it, neither out of malice, nor liſt to ſpeak evill, nor any vaineglory; but of meere neceſſity, to vindicate the ſpotleſſe *Truth* from an ignominious bondage, whoſe native worth is now become of ſuch a low eſteeme, that ſhee is like to finde ſmall credit with us for what ſhe can ſay, unleſſe ſhee can bring a Ticket from

Cranmer, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove her ſelfe a retainer to *Conſtantine*, and weare his *badge*. More tolerable it were for the *Church* of GOD that all theſe Names were utterly aboliſht, like the *Brazen Serpent*; then that mens fond opinion ſhould thus idolize them, and the Heavenly *Truth* be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatſoever the *Biſhops* were, it ſeemes they themſelves were unſatisfi'd in matters of *Religion*, as they then ſtood, by that Commiſſion granted to 8. *Biſhops*, 8. other *Divines*, 8. *Civilians*, 8. *common Lawyers*, to frame *Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions*; which no wonder if it came to nothing; for (as *Hayward* relates) both their Profeſſions and their Ends were different. Laſtly, we all know by Examples, that exact *Reformation* is not perfited at the firſt puſh, and thoſe unweildy Times of *Edward* 6. may hold ſome Plea by this excuſe: Now let any reaſonable man judge whether that *Kings Reigne* be a fit time from whence to patterne out the Conſtitution of a *Church Diſcipline*, much leſſe that it ſhould yeeld occaſion from whence to foſter and eſtabliſh the continuance of Imperfection with the commendatory ſubſcriptions of *Confeſſors* and *Martyrs*, to intitle and ingage a glorious *Name* to a groſſe *corruption*. It was not *Epiſcopacie* that wrought in them the Heavenly Fortitude of *Martyrdome*; as little is it that *Martyrdome* can make good *Epiſcopacie*: But it was *Epiſcopacie* that led the good and holy Men through the temptation of the *Enemie*, and the ſnare of this preſent world to many blameworthy and opprobrious *Actions*. And it is ſtill *Epiſcopacie* that before all our eyes worſens and ſluggs the moſt learned, and ſeeming religious of our *Miniſters*, who no ſooner advanc't to it, but like a ſeething pot ſet to coole, ſenſibly exhale and reake out the greateſt part of that zeale, and thoſe Gifts

which were formerly in them, ſettling in a ſkinny congealment of eaſe and ſloth at the top: and if they keep their Learning by ſome potent ſway of Nature, 'tis a rare chance; but their *devotion* moſt commonly comes to that queazy temper of lukewarmneſſe, that gives a Vomit to GOD himſelfe.

But what doe wee ſuffer miſ-ſhapen and enormous *Prelatiſme*, as we do, thus to blanch and varniſh her deformities with the faire colours, as before of *Martyrdome*, ſo now of *Epiſcopacie*? They are not *Biſhops*, GOD and all *good Men* know they are not, that have fill'd this Land with late confuſion and violence; but a Tyrannicall crew and Corporation of Impoſtors, that have blinded and abus'd the World ſo long under that Name. He that inabl'd with *gifts* from *God*, and the lawfull and Primitive choyce of the *Church* aſſembl'd in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his Parochiall *Flock*, ha's his coequall and compreſbyteriall Power to ordaine *Miniſters* and *Deacons* by publique *Prayer*, and *Vote* of *Chriſts* Congregation in like ſort as he himſelfe was ordain'd, and is a true *Apoſtolick Biſhop*. But when hee ſteps up into the Chayre of *Pontificall* Pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary Houſe, for a miſ-govern'd and haughty *Palace*, *ſpirituall Dignity* for carnall *Precedence*, and *ſecular high Office* and *employment* for the *high Negotiations* of his Heavenly *Embaſſage*, Then he *degrades*, then hee *un-Biſhops* himſelfe; hee that makes him *Biſhop* makes him no *Biſhop*. No marvell therfore if S. *Martin* complain'd to *Sulpitius Severus* that ſince hee was *Biſhop* he felt inwardly a ſenſible decay of thoſe *vertues* and *graces* that *God* had given him in great meaſure before; Although the ſame *Sulpitius* write that he was nothing tainted, or alter'd in his *habit*, *dyet*, or perſonall *demeanour* from that ſimple plainneſſe to which he firſt betook

himſelfe. It was not therfore that thing alone which *God* tooke diſpleaſure at in the *Biſhops* of thoſe times, but rather an univerſall rottennes, and gangrene in the whole *Function*.

From hence then I paſſe to Qu. ELIZABETH, the next *Proteſtant* Prince, in whoſe Dayes why *Religion* attain'd not a perfect reducement in the beginning of her Reigne, I ſuppoſe the hindring Cauſes will be found to bee common with ſome formerly alledg'd for King EDWARD 6. the greenneſſe of the Times, the weake Eſtate which Qu. MARY left the Realme in, the great Places and Offices executed by *Papiſts*, the *Judges*, the *Lawyers*, the *Juſtices* of Peace for the moſt part *Popiſh*, the *Biſhops* firme to *Rome*, from whence was to be expected the furious flaſhing of Excommunications, and abſolving the *People* from their Obedience. Next, her private *Councellours*, whoever they were, perſwaded her (as *Camden* writes) that the altering of *Eccleſiaſticall Policie* would move ſedition. Then was the *Liturgie* given to a number of moderate *Divines*, and Sir *Tho. Smith* a Stateſman to bee purg'd, and Phyſick't: And ſurely they were moderate *Divines* indeed, neither hot nor cold; and *Grindall* the beſt of them, afterwards *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* loſt favour in the Court, and I think was diſcharg'd the goverment of his *See* for favouring the *Miniſters*, though *Camden* ſeeme willing to finde another Cauſe: therefore about her ſecond Yeare in a *Parliament* of Men and Minds ſome ſcarce well grounded, others belching the ſoure Crudities of yeſterdayes *Poperie*, thoſe Conſtitutions of EDW. 6. which as you heard before, no way ſatisfi'd the men that made them, are now eſtabliſh't for beſt, and not to be mended. From that time follow'd nothing but Impriſonments, troubles, diſgraces on all thoſe that found fault with the *Decrees* of the Convoca-

tion, and ſtrait were they branded with the Name of *Puritans*. As for the Queene her ſelfe, ſhee was made beleeve that by putting downe *Biſhops* her *Prerogative* would be infring'd, of which ſhall be ſpoken anon, as the courſe of Method brings it in. And why the *Prelats* labour'd it ſhould be ſo thought, aſk not them, but aſk their Bellies. They had found a good Tabernacle, they ſate under a ſpreading Vine, their Lot was fallen in a faire Inheritance. And theſe perhaps were the cheife impeachments of a more ſound rectifying the *Church* in the Queens Time.

From this Period I count to begin our Times, which, becauſe they concerne us more neerely, and our owne eyes and eares can give us the ampler ſcope to judge, will require a more exact ſearch; and to effect this the ſpeedier, I ſhall diſtinguiſh ſuch as I eſteeme to be the hinderers of *Reformation* into 3. ſorts, *Antiquitarians* (for ſo I had rather call them then *Antiquaries*, whoſe labours are uſefull and laudable) 2. *Libertines*, 3. *Polititians*.

To the votariſts of Antiquity I ſhall think to have fully anſwer'd, if I ſhall be able to prove out of Antiquity, Firſt, that if they will conform our Biſhops to the purer times, they muſt mew their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curt-tail'd Biſhops of them; and we know they hate to be dockt and clipt, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that thoſe purer times were corrupt, and their Books corrupted ſoon after. Thirdly, that the beſt of thoſe that then wrote, diſclaim that any man ſhould repoſe on them, and ſend all to the Scriptures.

Firſt therfore, if thoſe that over-affect Antiquity, will follow the ſquare therof, their Biſhops muſt be elected by the hands of the whole *Church*. The ancienteſt of the extant Fathers *Ignatius*, writing to

the Philadelphians ſaith, *that it belongs to them as to the Church of God to chooſe a Biſhop.* Let no man cavill, but take the Church of *God* as meaning the whole conſiſtence of Orders and Members, as S. *Pauls* Epiſtles expreſſe, and this likewiſe being read over: Beſides this, it is there to be mark'd, that thoſe Philadelphians are exhorted to chooſe a Biſhop of *Antioch.* Whence it ſeems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of Dioces in thoſe times, which is confirm'd even by a faſt friend of Epiſcopacie, *Camden,* who cannot but love Biſhops, as well as old coins, and his much lamented Monaſteries for antiquities ſake. He writes in his deſcription of *Scotland, that over all the world Biſhops had no certaine Dioces, till Pope* Dionyſius *about the yeare* 268. *did cut them out,* and *that the Biſhops of* Scotland *executed their function in what place ſoever they came indifferently, and without diſtinction till King* Malcolm *the third, about the yeare* 1070. whence may be gueſt what their function was: was it to goe about circl'd with a band of rooking Officials, with cloke bagges full of Citations, and Proceſſes to be ſerv'd by a corporalty of griffonlike Promooters, and Apparitors? Did he goe about to pitch down his Court, as an Empirick does his banck, to inveigle in all the mony of the Coūtrey? no certainly it would not have bin permitted him to exerciſe any ſuch function indifferently wherever he came. And verily ſome ſuch matter it was as want of a fat Dioces that kept our Britain Biſhops ſo poore in the Primitive times, that being call'd to the Councell of *Ariminum* in the yeare 359. they had not wherewithall to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed, and lodg'd upon the Emperors coſt, which muſt needs be no accidentall, but uſuall poverty in them, for the author *Sulp. Severus* in his 2 Booke of Church Hiſtory praiſes them, and avouches it

praiſe-worthy in a Biſhop, to be ſo poore as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of Biſhops that it could not lawfully be without the conſent of the people is ſo expreſſe in *Cyprian*, and ſo often to be met with, that to cite each place at large, were to tranſlate a good part of the volume, therfore touching the chief paſſages, I referre the reſt to whom ſo liſt peruſe the Author himſelfe: in the 24. *Epiſt. If a Biſhop* ſaith he, *be once made and allow'd by the teſtimony and judgement of his colleagues, and the people, no other can be made.* In the 55. *When a Biſhop is made by the ſuffrage of all the people in peace.* In the 68. marke but what he ſaies, *The people chiefly hath power, either of chooſing worthy ones, or refuſing unworthy:* this he there proves by authorities out of the old and new Teſtament, and with ſolid reaſons, theſe were his antiquities.

This voyce of the people to be had ever in Epiſcopal elections was ſo well known, before *Cyprians* time, even to thoſe that were without the Church, that the Emperor *Alexander Severus* deſir'd to have his governours of Provinces choſen in the ſame manner, as *Lampridius* can tell: So little thought it he offenſive to Monarchy; and if ſingle authorities perſwade not, hearken what the whole generall Councel of *Nicæa* the firſt and famouſeſt of all the reſt determines, writing a Synodal *Epiſt.* to the African Churches, to warn them of Arrianiſme, it exhorts them to chooſe orthodox Biſhops in the place of the dead ſo they be worthy, and the people chooſe them, whereby they ſeem to make the peoples aſſent ſo neceſſary; that merit without their free choyce were not ſufficient to make a Biſhop. What would ye ſay now grave Fathers if you ſhould wake and ſee unworthy Biſhops, or rather no Biſhops, but Egyptian taſk-maſters of Ceremonies

thruſt purpoſely upon the groaning Church to the affliction, and vexation of *Gods* people? It was not of old that a Conſpiracie of Biſhops could fruſtrate and fob off the right of the people, for we may read how S. *Martin* ſoon after *Conſtantine* was made Biſhop of *Turon* in *France* by the peoples conſent from all places thereabout maugre all the oppoſition that the Biſhops could make. Thus went matters of the Church almoſt 400. yeare after *Chriſt*, and very probably farre lower, for *Nicephorus Phocas* the Greek Emperour, whoſe reign fell neare the 1000. year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is ſaid by *Cedrenus* to have done nothing more grievous and diſpleaſing to the people, then to have inacted that no Biſhop ſhould be choſen without his will; ſo long did this right remain to the people in the midſt of other palpable corruptions: Now for Epiſcopall dignity, what it was, ſee out of *Ignatius*, who in his Epiſtle to thoſe of *Trallis* confeſſeth *that the Preſbyters, are his fellow Counſellers, and fellow benchers*. And *Cyprian* in many places, as in the 6. 41. 52. Epiſt. ſpeaking of *Preſbyters*, calls them his *Compreſbyters*, as if he deem'd himſelfe no other, whenas by the ſame place it appeares he was a Biſhop, he calls them Brethren; but that will be thought his meekneſſe: yea, but the *Preſbyters* and Deacons writing to him think they doe him honour enough when they phraſe him no higher then Brother *Cyprian*, and deare *Cyprian* in the 26. Epiſt. For their Authority 'tis evident not to have bin ſingle, but depending on the counſel of the *Preſbyters*, as from *Ignatius* was erewhile alledg'd; and the ſame *Cyprian* acknowledges as much in the 6 Epiſt. and addes therto that he had determin'd from his entrance into the Office of Biſhop to doe nothing without the conſent of his people, and ſo in the 31. Epiſt, for it were tedious to courſe through all his

writings which are ſo full of the like aſſertions, inſomuch that ev'n in the womb and center of Apoſtacy *Rome* it ſelfe, there yet remains a glimps of this truth, for the Pope himſelfe, as a learned Engliſh writer notes well, performeth all Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction as in Conſiſtory amongſt his Cardinals, which were originally but the Pariſh Prieſts of *Rome*. Thus then did the Spirit of unity and meekneſſe inſpire, and animate every joynt, and ſinew of the myſticall body, but now the graveſt, and worthieſt Miniſter, a true Biſhop of his fold ſhall be revil'd, and ruffl'd by an inſulting, and only-Canon-wiſe Prelate, as if he were ſome ſlight paltry companion: and the people of *God* redeem'd, and waſh'd with *Chriſts* blood, and dignify'd with ſo many glorious titles of Saints, and ſons in the Goſpel, are now no better reputed then impure ethnicks, and lay dogs; ſtones & Pillars, and Crucifixes have now the honour, and the almes due to *Chriſts* living members; the Table of Communion now become a Table of ſeparation ſtands like an exalted platforme upon the brow of the quire, fortifi'd with bulwark, and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the Laicks, whilſt the obſcene, and ſurfeted Prieſt ſcruples not to paw, and mammock the ſacramentall bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Biſket. And thus the people vilifi'd and rejected by them, give over the earneſt ſtudy of vertue, and godlineſſe as a thing of greater purity then they need, and the ſearch of divine knowledge as a myſtery too high for their capacity's, and only for Churchmen to meddle with, which is that the Prelates deſire, that when they have brought us back to Popiſh blindneſſe we might commit to their diſpoſe the whole managing of our ſalvation, for they think it was never faire world with them ſince that time: But he that will mould a modern Biſhop into a primitive, muſt yeeld him

to be elected by the popular voyce, undiocest, unrevenu'd, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchles temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer, and preaching, continual watchings, and labours in his Ministery, which what a rich bootie it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping mouth of a Prelate, what a relish it would give to his canary-sucking, and swan-eating palat, let old Bishop *Mountain* judge for me.

How little therfore those ancient times make for moderne Bishops hath bin plainly discours'd, but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not stand to their arbitrement shall now appeare by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times fouly tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These Positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, *Ignatius* in his early dayes testifies to the Churches of *Asia*, that even then Heresies were sprung up, and rife every where, as *Eusebius* relates in his 3. Book, 35. chap. after the Greek number. And *Hegesippus* a grave Church writer of prime Antiquity affirms in the same Book of *Euseb.* c. 32. *that while the Apostles were on earth the depravers of doctrine did but lurk, but they once gon, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities:* yea those that are reckon'd for orthodox began to make sad, and shamefull rents in the Church about the trivial celebration of Feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter day, which controversie grew so hot, that *Victor* the Bishop of *Rome* Excommunicated all the Churches of *Asia* for no other cause, and was worthily therof reprov'd by *Irenæus*. For can any sound Theologer think that these great

Fathers underſtood what was Goſpel, or what was Excommunication? doubtleſſe that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the neer tradition of what they heard the Apoſtles ſomtimes did, then to what they had left written, not conſidering that many things which they did, were by the Apoſtles themſelves profeſt to be done only for the preſent, and of meer indulgence to ſome ſcrupulous converts of the Circumciſion, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1. *cap.* of *Euſebius* 8. Book. What a univerſal tetter of impurity had invenom'd every part, order, and degree of the Church, to omit the lay herd which will be little regarded, *thoſe that ſeem'd to be our Paſtors*, ſaith he, *overturning the Law of Gods worſhip, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increſing in hatred and bitternes, outragiouſly ſought to uphold Lordſhip, and command as it were a tyranny.* Stay but a little, magnanimous Biſhops, ſuppreſſe your aſpiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but *Conſtantine* to reigne, and then Tyranny her ſelfe ſhall give up all her cittadels into your hands, and count ye thence forward her truſtieſt agents. Such were theſe that muſt be call'd the ancienteſt, and moſt virgin times between *Chriſt* and *Conſtantine*. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings: who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wreſting of Scripture, the Hereſies, the vanities thick ſown through the volums of *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Origen*, *Tertullian* and others of eldeſt time? Who would think him fit to write an Apology for Chriſtian Faith to the Roman Senat, that would tell them how of the Angels, which he muſt needs mean thoſe in *Gen.* call'd the *Sons of God*, mixing with Women were begotten the Devills, as good

Justin Martyr in his Apology told them. But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read *Tertullian* terming S. *Paul* a novice and raw in grace, for reproving S. *Peter* at *Antioch*, worthy to be blam'd if we beleeve the Epistle to the *Galatians:* perhaps from this hint the blasphemous Jesuits presum'd in *Italy* to give their judgement of S. *Paul*, as of a hot headed person, as *Sandys* in his Relations tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many surreptitious works are ingraff'd into the legitimate writings of the Fathers, and of those Books that passe for authentick who knows what hath bin tamper'd withall, what hath bin raz'd out, what hath bin inserted, besides the late legerdemain of the Papists, that which *Sulpitius* writes concerning *Origens* Books gives us cause vehemently to suspect, there hath bin packing of old. In the third chap. of his 1. Dialogue, we may read what wrangling the Bishops and Monks had about the reading, or not reading of *Origen*, some objecting that he was corrupted by Hereticks, others answering that all such Books had bin so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that testifie so ill of leading themselvs, certainly of their defects their own witnesse may be best receiv'd, but of the rectitude, and sincerity of their life and doctrine to judge rightly, wee must judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it wil be objected that this was an unsetl'd state of the Church wanting the temporall Magistrate to suppresse the licence of false Brethren, and the extravagancy of still-new opinions, a time not imitable for Church government, where the temporall and spirituall power did not close in one beleife, as under *Constantine*. I am not of opinion to thinke the Church a *Vine* in this respect, because,

as they take it, ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without claſping about the Elme of worldly ſtrength, and felicity, as if the heavenly City could not ſupport it ſelfe without the props and buttreſſes of ſecular Authoritie. They extoll *Conſtantine* becauſe he extol'd them; as our homebred Monks in their Hiſtories blanch the Kings their Benefactors, and brand thoſe that went about to be their Correctors. If he had curb'd the growing Pride, Avarice, and Luxury of the *Clergie*, then every Page of his Story ſhould have ſwel'd with his Faults, and that which *Zozimus* the Heathen writes of him ſhould have come in to boot: wee ſhould have heard then in every Declamation how hee ſlew his Nephew *Commodus* a worthy man, his noble and eldeſt Son *Criſpus*, his Wife *Fauſta*, beſides numbers of his Friends; then his cruell exactions, his unſoundneſſe in Religion, favoring the *Arrians* that had been condemn'd in a Counſell, of which himſelfe ſate as it were Preſident, his hard meaſure and baniſhment of the faithfull and invincible *Athanaſius*, his living unbaptiz'd almoſt to his dying day; theſe blurs are too apparent in his Life. But ſince hee muſt needs bee the Load-ſtarre of *Reformation* as ſome men clatter, it will be good to ſee further his knowledge of *Religion* what it was, and by that we may likewiſe gueſſe at the ſincerity of his Times in thoſe that were not Hereticall, it being likely that hee would converſe with the famouſeſt *Prelates* (for ſo he had made them) that were to be found for learning.

Of his *Arianiſme* we heard, and for the reſt, a pretty ſcantling of his Knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptiz'd ſo many yeares, a thing not uſuall, and repugnant to the Tenor of *Scripture*, *Philip* knowing nothing that ſhould hinder the *Eunuch* to be *baptiz'd* after *profeſſion* of his *beleife*. Next, by the exceſſive devotion, that I may not ſay

Superſtition both of him and his Mother *Helena*, to find out the Croſſe on which *Chriſt* ſuffer'd, that had long lien under the rubbiſh of old ruines, (a thing which the Diſciples and Kindred of our Saviour might with more eaſe have done, if they had thought it a pious duty:) ſome of the nailes whereof hee put into his Helmet, to beare off blowes in battell, others he faſten'd among the ſtudds of his bridle, to fulfill (as he thought, or his Court *Biſhops* perſwaded him) the Prophesie of *Zachariah*; *And it ſhall be that that which is in the bridle ſhall be holy to the Lord.* Part of the Croſſe, in which he thought ſuch Vertue to reſide, as would prove a kind of *Palladium* to ſave the *Citie* where ever it remain'd, he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of Porphyrie by his Statue. How hee or his Teachers could trifle thus with halfe an eye open upon Saint *Pauls* Principles, I know not how to imagine.

How ſhould then the dim Taper of this Emperours age that had ſuch need of ſnuffing, extend any beame to our Times wherewith wee might hope to be better lighted, then by thoſe Luminaries that God hath ſet up to ſhine to us far neerer hand. And what *Reformation* he wrought for his owne time it will not be amiſſe to conſider, hee appointed certaine times for Faſts, and Feaſts, built ſtately Churches, gave large Immunities to the Clergie, great Riches and Promotions to *Biſhops*, gave and miniſter'd occaſion to bring in a Deluge of Ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the Heathen by a reſemblance of their rites, or to ſet a gloſſe upon the ſimplicity, and plainneſſe of Chriſtianity which to the gorgeous ſolemnities of *Paganiſme*, and the ſenſe of the Worlds Children ſeem'd but a homely and Yeomanly *Religion*, for the beauty of inward Sanctity was not within their proſpect.

So that in this manner the *Prelates* both then and

ever ſince comming from a meane, and Plebeyan *Life* on a ſudden to be Lords of ſtately Palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and *Princely* attendance, thought the plaine and homeſpun verity of *Chriſts* Goſpell unfit any longer to hold their Lordſhips acquaintance, unleſſe the poore thred-bare Matron were put into better clothes; her chaſt and modeſt vaile ſurrounded with celeſtiall beames they overlai'd with wanton *treſſes*, and in a flaring tire beſpecckl'd her with all the gaudy allurements of a Whore.

Thus flouriſh't the Church with *Conſtantines* wealth, and thereafter were the effects that follow'd; his Son *Conſtantius* prov'd a flat *Arian*, and his Nephew *Iulian* an Apoſtate, and there his Race ended; the Church that before by inſenſible degrees welk't and impair'd, now with large ſteps went downe hill decaying; at this time *Antichriſt* began firſt to put forth his horne, and that ſaying was common that former times had woodden Chalices and golden *Preiſts;* but they golden Chalices and woodden *Preiſts*. Formerly (ſaith *Sulpitius*) *Martyrdome* by glorious death was ſought more greedily, then now Biſhopricks by vile Ambition are hunted after (ſpeaking of theſe Times) and in another place; they gape after poſſeſſions, they tend Lands and Livings, they coure over their gold, they buy and ſell: and if there be any that neither poſſeſſe nor traffique, that which is worſe, they ſit ſtill, and expect guifts, and proſtitute every induement of grace, every holy thing to ſale. And in the end of his Hiſtory thus he concludes, all things went to wrack by the *faction*, *wilfulneſſe*, and *avarice* of the *Biſhops*, and by this means *Gods people*, & every *good man* was had in ſcorn and deriſion; which S. *Martin* found truly to be ſaid by his friend *Sulpitius;* for being held in admiration of all men, he had onely the *Biſhops* his enemies, found God leſſe favorable

to him after he was *Bishop* then before, & for his last 16. yeares would come at no *Bishops* meeting. Thus you see Sir what *Constantines* doings in the Church brought forth, either in his own or in his Sons Reigne.

Now lest it should bee thought that somthing else might ayle this Author thus to hamper the Bishops of those dayes; I will bring you the opinion of three the famousest men for wit and learning, that *Italy* at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd opinion even among men professing the Romish Faith, that *Constantine* marr'd all in the Church. *Dante* in his 19. *Canto* of *Inferno* hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank Verse.

> *Ah* Constantine, *of how much ill was cause*
> *Not thy Conversion, but those rich demaines*
> *That the first wealthy* Pope *receiv'd of thee.*

So in his 20. Canto of *Paradise* hee makes the like complaint, and *Petrarch* seconds him in the same mind in his 108. Sonnet which is wip't out by the Inquisitor in some Editions; speaking of the Roman *Antichrist* as meerely bred up by *Constantine*.

> *Founded in chast and humble Povertie,*
> *'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy horn,*
> *Impudent whoore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope?*
> *In thy Adulterers, or thy ill got wealth?*
> *Another* Constantine *comes not in hast.*

Ariosto of *Ferrara* after both these in time, but equall in fame, following the scope of his Poem in a difficult knot how to restore *Orlando* his chiefe Hero to his lost senses, brings *Astolfo* the English

Knight up into the moone, where S. *John*, as he feignes, met him. *Cant.* 34.

And to be ſhort, at laſt his guid him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he ſees
A mighty maſſe of things ſtrangely confus'd,
Things that on earth were loſt, or were abus'd.

And amongſt theſe ſo abuſed things liſten what hee met withall, under the Conduct of the *Evangeliſt*.

Then paſt hee to a flowry Mountaine greene,
Which once ſmelt ſweet, now ſtinks as odiouſly;
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Conſtantine *to good* Sylveſtro *gave.*

And this was a truth well knowne in *England* before this *Poet* was borne, as our *Chaucers* Plowman ſhall tell you by and by upon another occaſion. By all theſe circumſtances laid together, I do not ſee how it can be diſputed what good this Emperour *Conſtantine* wrought to the Church, but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, ſet open a dore to more miſchiefe in Chriſtendome. There is juſt cauſe therefore that when the *Prelates* cry out Let the Church be reform'd according to *Conſtantine*, it ſhould ſound to a judicious eare no otherwiſe, then if they ſhould ſay Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawleſſe, for if any under him were not ſo, thanks to thoſe ancient remains of integrity, which were not yet quite worne out, and not to his Government.

Thus finally it appears that thoſe purer Times were no ſuch as they are cry'd up, and not to be follow'd without ſuſpicion, doubt and danger. The laſt point wherein the *Antiquary* is to bee dealt with at his owne weapon, is to make it manifeſt, that the

ancienteſt, and beſt of the Fathers have diſclaim'd all ſufficiency in themſelves that men ſhould rely on, and ſent all commers to the Scriptures, as all ſufficient; that this is true, will not be unduly gather'd by ſhewing what eſteeme they had of Antiquity themſelves, and what validity they thought in it to prove Doctrine, or Diſcipline. I muſt of neceſſitie begin from the ſecond ranke of Fathers, becauſe till then Antiquitie could have no Plea. *Cyprian* in his 63. *Epiſtle*. If any, ſaith he, of our Aunceſtors either ignorantly or out of ſimplicity hath not obſerv'd that which the Lord taught us by his example (ſpeaking of the Lords Supper) his ſimplicity *God* may pardon of his mercy, but wee cannot be excus'd for following him, being inſtructed by the Lord. And have not we the ſame inſtructions, and will not this holy man with all the whole Conſiſtorie of Saints and Martyrs that liv'd of old riſe up and ſtop our mouthes in judgement, when wee ſhall goe about to Father our Errors, and opinions upon their Authority? in the 73. *Epiſt.* hee adds, in vaine doe they oppoſe cuſtome to us if they be overcome by reaſon; as if cuſtome were greater then Truth, or that in ſpirituall things that were not to be follow'd, which is revel'd for the better by the holy Ghoſt. In the 74. neither ought Cuſtome to hinder that Truth ſhould not prevaile, for Cuſtome without Truth is but agedneſſe of Error.

Next *Lactantius*, he that was prefer'd to have the bringing up of *Conſtantines* children in his ſecond Booke of *Inſtitutions*, Chap. 7. & 8. diſputes againſt the vaine truſt in Antiquity, as being the cheifeſt Argument of the Heathen againſt the Chriſtians, they doe not conſider, ſaith he, what Religion is, but they are confident it is true, becauſe the Ancients deliver'd it, they count it a treſpaſſe to examine it. And in the eighth, not becauſe they went before us

in time, therefore in wiſedome, which being given alike to all Ages, cannot be prepoſſeſt by the Ancients; wherefore ſeeing that to ſeeke the Truth is inbred to all, they bereave themſelves of wiſedome the gift of God who without judgement follow the Ancients, and are led by others like bruit beaſts. St. *Auſtin* writes to *Fortunatian* that he counts it lawfull in the bookes of whomſoever to reject that which hee finds otherwiſe then true, and ſo hee would have others deale by him. He neither accounted, as it ſeems, thoſe Fathers that went before, nor himſelfe, nor others of his rank, for men of more then ordinary ſpirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceiv'd, and oftimes, ſetting our ſervile humors aſide, yea *God* ſo ordering, we may find Truth with one man, as ſoon as in a Counſell, as *Cyprian* agrees 71. Epiſt. *Many things*, ſaith he, *are better reveal'd to ſingle perſons*. At *Nicæa* in the firſt, and beſt reputed Counſell of all the world, there had gon out a Canon to divorce married Prieſts, had not one old man *Paphnutius* ſtood up, and reaſon'd againſt it.

Now remains it to ſhew clearly that the Fathers referre all deciſion of controverſie to the Scriptures, as all-ſufficient to direct, to reſolve, and to determine. *Ignatius* taking his laſt leave of the Aſian Churches, as he went to martyrdome exhorted them to adhere cloſe to the written doctrine of the Apoſtles, neceſſarily written for poſterity: ſo farre was he from unwritten traditions, as may be read in the 36. *c.* of *Euſebius* 3. *b.* In the 74. Epiſt. Of *Cyprian* againſt *Stefan* Biſh. of *Rome* impoſing upon him a tradition, *whence*, quoth he, *is this tradition? is it fetcht from the authority of Chriſt in the Goſpel, or of the Apoſtles in their Epiſtles: for God teſtifies that thoſe things are to be done which are written:* and then thus; *what obſtinacie, what preſumption is this*

to preferre humane Tradition before divine ordinance? And in the ſame Epiſt. *If we ſhall return to the head, and beginning of divine tradition* (which we all know he means the Bible) *humane error ceaſes, and the reaſon of heavenly miſteries unfolded, whatſoever was obſcure, becomes cleare.* And in the 14. Diſtinct. of the ſame Epiſt. directly againſt our modern fantaſies of a ſtill viſible Church, he teaches, *that ſucceſſion of truth may fail, to renew which we muſt have recourſe to the fountaines,* uſing this excellent ſimilitude, *if a Channel, or Conduit pipe which brought in water plentifully before, ſuddenly fail, doe we not goe to the fountaine to know the cauſe, whether the Spring affords no more, or whether the vein be ſtopt, or turn'd aſide in the midcourſe: thus ought we to doe, keeping Gods precepts, that if in ought the truth ſhall be chang'd, we may repaire to the Goſpel, and to the Apoſtles, that thence may ariſe the reaſon of our doings, from whence our order, and beginning aroſe.* In the 75. he inveighs bitterly againſt Pope *Stefanus,* for that he could boaſt his Succeſſion from *Peter,* and yet foiſt in Traditions that were not Apoſtolicall. And in his Book of the unity of the Church he compares thoſe that neglecting *Gods* Word, follow the doctrines of men, to *Coreh, Dathan,* and *Abiram.* The very firſt page of *Athanaſius* againſt the Gentiles, averres the Scriptures to be ſufficient of themſelves for the declaration of Truth; and that if his friend *Macarius* read other religious writers, it was but φιλοκάλως *come un virtuoſo,* (as the Italians ſay,) as a lover of elegance: and in his 2*d* Tome the 39. pag., after he hath rekon'd up the Canonicall Books, *In theſe only,* ſaith he, *is the doctrine of godlineſſe taught, let no man adde to theſe, or take from theſe;* and in his *Synopſis,* having again ſet down all the Writers of the old & new Teſtament, *theſe,* ſaith he, *be the anchors, and props of our Faith:* beſides

theſe, millions of other Books have bin written by great and wiſe men according to rule, and agreement with theſe, of which I will not now ſpeak, as being of infinite number, and meer dependance on the canonical Books. *Baſil* in his 2*d* Tome writing of true Faith, tells his auditors he is bound to teach them that which he hath learn't out of the Bible: and in the ſame Treatiſe, he ſaith, *That ſeeing the Commandments of the Lord, are faithfull, and ſure for ever; it is a plain falling from the Faith, and a high pride either to make void any thing therin, or to introduce any thing not there to be found:* and he gives the reaſon, *for Chriſt ſaith, My Sheep heare my voyce, they will not follow another, but fly from him, becauſe they know not his voyce.* But not to be endleſſe in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the Fathers which have no ground in Scripture; ſo much the leſſe, may I ſay, ſhould we follow them, for their own words ſhall condemn them, and acquit us, that lean not on them; otherwiſe theſe their words ſhall acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be reply'd, the Scriptures are difficult to be underſtood, and therfore require the explanation of the Fathers, 'tis true there be ſome Books, and eſpecially ſome places in thoſe Books that remain clouded; yet ever that which is moſt neceſſary to be known is moſt eaſie; and that which is moſt difficult, ſo farre expounds it ſelfe ever, as to tell us how little it imports our *ſaving knowledge.* Hence to inferre a generall obſcurity over all the text, is a meer ſuggeſtion of the Devil to diſſwade men from reading it, and caſts an aſperſion of diſhonour both upon the *mercy*, *truth*, and *wiſdome* of *God:* We count it no gentleneſſe, or fair dealing in a man of Power amongſt us, to require ſtrict, and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obſcure, we ſhould

think he had a plot upon us, certainly ſuch commands were no commands, but ſnares. The very eſſence of Truth is plainneſſe, and brightnes; the darknes and crookedneſſe is our own. The *wiſdome* of *God* created *underſtanding*, fit and proportionable to Truth the object, and end of it, as the eye to the thing viſible. If our *underſtanding* have a film of *ignorance* over it, or be blear with gazing on other falſe gliſterings, what is that to Truth? If we will but purge with ſovrain eyeſalve that intellectual ray which *God* hath planted in us, then we would beleeve the Scriptures proteſting their own plainnes, and perſpicuity, calling to them to be inſtructed, not only the *wiſe*, and *learned*, but the *ſimple*, the *poor*, the *babes*, foretelling an extraordinary effuſion of *Gods* Spirit upon every age, and ſexe, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of ſearching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit diſcerning that which is good; and as the Scriptures themſelvs pronounce their own plainnes, ſo doe the Fathers teſtifie of them.

I will not run into a paroxyſm of citations again in this point, only inſtance *Athanaſius* in his foremention'd firſt page; *the knowledge of Truth*, ſaith he, *wants no humane lore, as being evident in it ſelfe, and by the preaching of Chriſt now opens brighter then the Sun.* If theſe Doctors who had ſcarſe half the light that we enjoy, who all except 2 or 3 were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundring upon the dangerous, and ſuſpectfull tranſlations of the Apoſtat *Aquila*, the Heretical Theodotion, the Judaïz'd *Symmachus*; the erroneous *Origen*; if theſe could yet find the Bible ſo eaſie, why ſhould we doubt, that have all the helps of Learning, and faithfull induſtry that man in this life can look for, and the aſſiſtance of *God* as neer now to us as ever. But let the Scriptures be hard; are they

e hard, more crabbed, more abſtruſe then the
ers? He that cannot underſtand the ſober,
, and unaffected ſtile of the Scriptures, will be
times more puzzl'd with the knotty Africaniſms,
pamper'd metafors; the intricat, and involv'd
ences of the Fathers; beſides the fantaſtick,
declamatory flaſhes; the croſſe-jingling periods
ch cannot but diſturb, and come thwart a ſetl'd
tion worſe then the din of bells, and rattles.
Now Sir, for the love of holy *Reformation*, what
be ſaid more againſt theſe importunat clients of
iquity, then ſhe her ſelfe their patroneſſe hath
. Whether think ye would ſhe approve ſtill to
upon immeaſurable, innumerable, and therfore
ceſſary, and unmercifull volumes, chooſing ra-
to erre with the ſpecious name of the Fathers,
to take a ſound Truth at the hand of a plain up-
t man that all his dayes hath bin diligently
ing the holy Scriptures, and therto imploring
r grace, while the admirers of Antiquity have
beating their brains about their *Ambones*, their
tychs, and *Meniaia's?* Now, he that cannot tell
tations, and Indictions; nor has waſted his pre-
s howrs in the endles conferring of Councels and
claves that demoliſh one another, although I
w many of thoſe that pretend to be great Rab-
in theſe ſtudies have ſcarce ſaluted them from
ſtrings, and the titlepage, or to give 'em more,
bin but the Ferrets and Mouſhunts of an
ex: yet what Paſtor, or Miniſter how learned,
gious, or diſcreet ſoever does not now bring both
cheeks full blown with Oecumenical, and Sy-
cal, ſhall be counted a lank, ſhallow, unſuffi-
t man, yea a dunce, and not worthy to ſpeak
it *Reformation* of *Church Diſcipline*. But I truſt
for whom *God* hath reſerv'd the honour of
orming this Church will eaſily perceive their

adverſaries drift in thus calling for Antiquity, they feare the plain field of the Scriptures; the chaſe is too hot; they ſeek the dark, the buſhie, the tangled Forreſt, they would imboſk: they feel themſelvs ſtrook in the tranſparent ſtreams of divine Truth, they would plunge, and tumble, and thinke to ly hid in the foul weeds, and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottome. But let them beat themſelvs like Whales, and ſpend their oyl till they be dradg'd aſhoar: though wherfore ſhould the Miniſters give them ſo much line for ſhifts, and delays? Wherfore ſhould they not urge only the Goſpel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of Diamond, till it dazle, and pierce their miſty ey balls? maintaining it the honour of its abſolute ſufficiency, and ſupremacy inviolable: For if the Scripture be for *Reformation*, and Antiquity to boot, 'tis but an advantage to the dozen, 'tis no winning caſt: and though Antiquity be againſt it, while the Scriptures be for it, the Cauſe is as good as ought to be wiſht, Antiquity it ſelfe ſitting Judge.

But to draw to an end; the ſecond ſort of thoſe that may be juſtly number'd among the hinderers of *Reformation*, are Libertines, theſe ſuggeſt that the Diſcipline ſought would be intolerable: for one Biſhop now in a Dioces we ſhould then have a Pope in every Pariſh. It will not be requiſit to Anſwer theſe men, but only to diſcover them, for reaſon they have none, but luſt, and licentiouſnes, and therfore anſwer can have none. It is not any Diſcipline that they could live under, it is the corruption, and remiſnes of Diſcipline that they ſeek. Epiſcopacy duly executed, yea the Turkiſh, and Jewiſh rigor againſt whoring, and drinking; the dear, and tender Diſcipline of a Father; the ſociable, and loving reproof of a Brother; the boſome admonition of a Friend is a *Preſbytery*, and a Conſiſtory to them.

'Tis only the merry Frier in *Chaucer* can diſple them.

> *Full ſweetly heard he confeſſion*
> *And pleaſant was his abſolution,*
> *He was an eaſie man to give pennance.*

And ſo I leave them: and referre the political diſcourſe of Epiſcopacy to a Second Book.

Of Reformation, &c.

The Second Book.

SIR,

IT is a work good, and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended vertue to order wel one houſe; but to govern a Nation pioufly, and juſtly, which only is to ſay happily, is for a ſpirit of the greateſt ſize, and divineſt mettle. And certainly of no leſſe a mind, nor of leſſe excellence in another way, were they who by writing layd the ſolid, and true foundations of this Science, which being of greateſt importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath bin more canker'd in her principles, more ſoyl'd and ſlubber'd with aphoriſming pedantry then the art of policie; and that moſt, where a man would thinke ſhould leaſt be, in Chriſtian Common-wealths. They teach not that to govern well is to train up a Nation in true wiſdom and vertue, and that which ſprings from thence magnanimity, (take heed of that) and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happieſt end, likenes to *God*, which in one word we

call *godlines*, & that this is the true floriſhing of a Land, other things follow as the ſhadow does the ſubſtance: to teach thus were meer pulpitry to them. This is the maſter-piece of a modern politician, how to qualifie, and mould the ſufferance and ſubjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks, how rapine may ſerve it ſelfe with the fair, and honourable pretences of publick good, how the puny Law may be brought under the wardſhip, and controul of luſt, and will, in which attempt if they fall ſhort, then muſt a ſuperficial colour of reputation by all means direct or indirect be gotten to waſh over the unſightly bruſe of honor. To make men governable in this manner their precepts mainly tend to break a nationall ſpirit, and courage by count'nancing open riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigur'd and made men beneath men, as *Juno* in the Fable of *Iö*, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the Commonwealth to be ſtung and vext with the breeſe, and goad of oppreſſion under the cuſtody of ſome *Argus* with a hundred eyes of jealouſie. To be plainer Sir, how to ſoder, how to ſtop a leak, how to keep up the floting carcas of a crazie, and diſeaſed Monarchy, or State betwixt wind, and water, ſwimming ſtill upon her own dead lees, that now is the deepe deſigne of a politician. Alas Sir! a Commonwelth ought to be but as one huge Chriſtian perſonage, one mighty growth, and ſtature of an honeſt man, as big, and compact in vertue as in body; for looke what the grounds, and cauſes are of ſingle happines to one man, the ſame yee ſhall find them to a whole ſtate, as *Ariſtotle* both in his ethicks, and politiks, from the principles of reaſon layes down, by conſequence therfore, that which is good, and agreeable to monarchy, will appeare ſooneſt to be ſo, by being good and agreeable to the true wel-fare of every Chriſtian,

and that which can be juſtly prov'd hurtfull, and offenſive to every true Chriſtian, wil be evinc't to be alike hurtful to monarchy: for *God* forbid, that we ſhould ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the end, and good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Chriſtianity. How then this third, and laſt ſort that hinder reformation, will juſtify that it ſtands not with reaſon of ſtate, I much muſe? For certain I am, the *Bible* is ſhut againſt them, as certaine that neither *Plato*, nor *Ariſtotle* is for their turnes, What they can bring us now from the Schools of *Loyola* with his Jeſuites, or their *Malvezzi* that can cut *Tacitus* into ſlivers and ſteaks, we ſhall preſently hear. They alledge 1. That the Church government muſt be conformable to the civill politie, next, that no forme of Church government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of Biſhops. Muſt Church government that is appointed in the Goſpel, and has chief reſpect to the ſoul, be conformable, and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly converſant about the viſible and external part of man? this is the very maxim that moulded the Calvs of *Bethel* and of *Dan*, this was the quinteſſence of *Jeroboams* policy, he made Religion conform to his politick intereſts, & this was the ſin that watcht over the Iſraelites till their final captivity. If this State principle come from the Prelates, as they affect to be counted ſtatiſts, let them look back to *Elutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſee what he thought of the policy of *England*; being requir'd by *Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King of this Iland to give his counſel for the founding of Religious Laws, little thought he of this ſage caution, but bids him betake himſelfe to the old, and new Teſtament, and receive direction from them how to adminiſter both Church, and Common-wealth; that he was *Gods* Vicar, and therfore to rule by *Gods* Laws, that the Edicts of

Cæſar we may at all times diſallow, but the Statutes of *God* for no reaſon we may reject. Now certaine if Church-goverment be taught in the Goſpel, as the Biſhops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late ſtanding this Poſition is, newly calculated for the altitude of Biſhop elevation, and lettice for their lips. But by what example can they ſhew that the form of Church Diſcipline muſt be minted, and modell'd out to ſecular pretences? The ancient Republick of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil eſtate, if we ſurvey the Story from the giving of the Law to the *Herods*, yet did one manner of Prieſtly government ſerve without inconvenience to all theſe temporal mutations: it ſerv'd the mild Ariſtocracy of elective Dukes, and heads of Tribes joyn'd with them; the dictatorſhip of the Judges, the eaſie, or hard-handed Monarchy's, the domeſtick, or forrain tyrannies, Laſtly the Roman Senat from without, the Jewiſh Senat at home with the Galilean Tetrarch, yet the Levites had ſome right to deal in civil affairs: but ſeeing the Euangelical precept forbids Churchmen to intermeddle with worldly imployments, what interweavings, or interworkings can knit the Miniſter, and the Magiſtrate in their ſeveral functions to the regard of any preciſe correſpondency? Seeing that the Churchmans office is only to teach men the Chriſtian Faith, to exhort all, to incourage the good, to admoniſh the bad, privately the leſſe offender, publickly the ſcandalous and ſtubborn; to cenſure, and ſeparate from the communion of *Chriſts* flock, the contagious, and incorrigible, to receive with joy, and fatherly compaſſion the penitent, all this muſt be don, and more then this is beyond any Church autority. What is all this either here, or there to the temporal regiment of Wealpublick, whether it be Popular, Princely, or Monarchical? Where doth

it intrench upon the temporal governor, where does it come in his walk? where does it make inrode upon his jurisdiction? Indeed if the Ministers part be rightly discharg'd, it renders him the people more conscionable, quiet, and easie to be govern'd, if otherwise his life and doctrine will declare him. If therfore the Constitution of the Church be already set down by divine prescript, as all sides confesse, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities, and respects: and if the nature and limits of Church Discipline be such, as are either helpfull to all political estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no necessity, nor indeed possibility of linking the one with the other in a speciall conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, *That no form of Church government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Bishops*, although it fall to pieces of it selfe by that which hath bin sayd: yet to give them play front, and reare, it shall be my task to prove that Episcopacy with that Autority which it challenges in *England* is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of Monarchy. While the Primitive Pastors of the Church of *God* labour'd faithfully in their Ministery, tending only their Sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations, and debasements to their high calling, little needed the Princes, and potentates of the earth, which way soever the Gospel was spread, to study ways how to make a coherence between the Churches politie, and theirs: therfore when *Pilate* heard once our Saviour *Christ* professing that *his Kingdome was not of this world*, he thought the man could not stand much in *Cæsars* light, nor much indammage the Roman Empire: for if the life of *Christ* be hid to this world, much more is his Scepter unoperative, but in spirituall things. And

thus liv'd, for 2 or 3 ages, the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. But when through *Conſtantines* laviſh Superſtition they forſook their *firſt love*, and ſet themſelvs up two Gods inſtead, *Mammon* and their Belly, then taking advantage of the ſpiritual power which they had on mens conſciences, they began to caſt a longing eye to get the body alſo, and bodily things into their command, upon which their carnal deſires, the Spirit dayly quenching and dying in them, they knew no way to keep themſelves up from falling to nothing, but by bolſtering, and ſupporting their inward rottenes by a carnal, and outward ſtrength. For a while they rather privily ſought opportunity, then haſtily diſclos'd their project, but when *Conſtantine* was dead, and 3 or 4 Empérors more, their drift became notorious, and offenſive to the whole world: for while *Theodoſius* the younger reign'd, thus writes *Socrates* the Hiſtorian in his *7th* Book, 11. chap. now began an ill name to ſtick upon the Biſhops of *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, who beyond their Prieſtly bounds now long agoe had ſtept into principality, and this was ſcarſe 80. years ſince their raiſing from the meaneſt worldly condition. Of courteſie now let any man tell me, if they draw to themſelves a *temporall ſtrength* and *power* out of *Cæſars* Dominion, is not *Cæſars* Empire thereby diminiſht? but this was a ſtolne bit, hitherto hee was but a Caterpiller ſecretly gnawing at *Monarchy*, the next time you ſhall ſee him a Woolfe, a Lyon, lifting his paw againſt his raiſer, as *Petrarch* expreſt it, and finally an open enemy, and ſubverter of the Greeke Empire. *Philippicus* and *Leo*, with divers other Emperours after them, not without the advice of their *Patriarchs*, and at length of a whole Eaſterne Counſell of 3. hundred thirty eight *Biſhops*, threw the Images out of *Churches* as being decreed idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occaſion the *Biſhop* of *Rome* not only ſeizes the City, and all the Territory about into his owne hands, and makes himſelfe Lord thereof, which till then was govern'd by a Greeke Magiſtrate, but abſolves all *Italy* of their Tribute, and obedience due to the Emperour, becauſe hee obey'd Gods Commandement in aboliſhing Idolatry.

Mark Sir here how the Pope came by S. *Peters* Patrymony, as he feigns it, not the donation of *Conſtantine*, but idolatry and rebellion got it him. Yee need but read *Sigonius* one of his owne Sect to know the Story at large. And now to ſhroud himſelfe againſt a ſtorme from the Greek Continent, and provide a Champion to beare him out in theſe practiſes, hee takes upon him by Papall ſentence to unthrone *Chilpericus* the rightfull K. of *France*, and gives the Kingdome to *Pepin* for no other cauſe but that hee ſeem'd to him the more active man. If he were a freind herein to *Monarchy* I know not, but to the *Monarch* I need not aſke what he was.

Having thus made *Pepin* his faſt freind, he cals him into *Italy* againſt *Aiſtulphus* the *Lombard*, that warr'd upon him for his late Uſurpation of *Rome* as belonging to *Ravenna* which he had newly won. *Pepin*, not unobedient to the Popes call, paſſing into *Italy*, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchat of *Ravenna*, which though it had beene almoſt immediately before, the hereditary poſſeſſion of that *Monarchy* which was his cheife Patron, and Benefactor, yet he takes, and keepes it to himſelfe as lawfull prize, and given to St. *Peter*. What a dangerous fallacie is this, when a ſpirituall man may ſnatch to himſelfe any temporall Dignity, or Dominion under pretence of receiving it for the Churches uſe; thus he claimes *Naples*, *Sicily*, *England*, and what not? To bee ſhort, under ſhew of his zeale againſt the errors of the Greeke Church,

hee never ceaſt baiting, and goring the Succeſſors of his beſt Lord *Conſtantine* what by his barking curſes, and Excommunications, what by his hindering the Weſterne Princes from ayding them againſt the Sarazens, and Turkes, unleſſe when they humour'd him; ſo that it may be truly affirm'd, he was the ſubverſion, and fall of that *Monarchy*, which was the hoiſting of him; this, beſides *Petrarch*, whom I have cited, our *Chaucer* alſo hath obſerv'd, and gives from hence a caution to *England* to beware of her *Biſhops* in time, for that their ends, and aymes are no more freindly to *Monarchy* then the Popes.

Thus hee brings in the Plow-man ſpeaking, 2. *Part. Stanz.* 28.

The Emperour Yaſe the Pope ſometime
So high Lordſhip him abovt
That at laſt the ſilly Kime,
The proud Pope put him out,
So of this Realme is no doubt,
But Lords beware, and them defend,
For now theſe folks be wonders ſtout
The King and Lords now this amend.

And in the next *Stanza* which begins the third part of the tale he argues that they ought not to bee Lords.

Moſes Law forbode it tho
That Preiſts ſhould no Lordſhips welde
Chriſts Goſpell biddeth alſo,
That they ſhould no Lordſhips held
Ne Chriſts Apoſtles were never ſo bold
No ſuch Lordſhips to hem embrace
But ſmeren her Sheep, and keep her Fold.

And ſo forward. Whether the Biſhops of *England* have deſerv'd thus to bee fear'd by men ſo wiſe

as our *Chaucer* is esteem'd, and how agreeable to our *Monarchy*, and *Monarchs* their demeanour ha's been, he that is but meanly read in our *Chronicles* needs not be instructed. Have they not been as the *Canaanites*, and *Philistims* to this Kingdom? what Treasons, what revolts to the Pope, what Rebellions, and those the basest, and most pretenseless have they not been chiefe in? What could *Monarchy* think when *Becket* durst *challenge* the custody of *Rotchester-Castle*, and the Tower of *London*, as appertaining to his Signory? To omit his other insolencies and affronts to Regall Majestie, till the Lashes inflicted on the anointed body of the King washt off the holy *Vnction* with his *blood* drawn by the polluted hands of *Bishops*, *Abbots*, and *Monks*.

What good upholders of Royalty were the *Bishops*, when by their rebellious opposition against King *John*, *Normandy* was lost, he himselfe depos'd, and this Kingdom made over to the *Pope*? When the *Bishop* of *Winchester* durst tell the Nobles, the Pillars of the Realme, that there were no Peeres in *England*, as in *France*, but that the King might doe what hee pleas'd. What could Tyranny say more? it would bee petty now if I should insist upon the rendring up of *Tournay* by *Woolseyes* Treason, the Excommunications, Cursings, and Interdicts upon the whole Land. For haply I shall be cut off short by a reply, that these were the faults of the men, and their Popish errors, not of *Episcopacie*, that hath now renounc't the Pope, and is a Protestant. Yes sure; as wise and famous men have suspected, and fear'd the Protestant *Episcopacie* in *England*, as those that have fear'd the Papall.

You know Sir what was the judgement of *Padre Paolo* the great Venetian Antagonist of the *Pope*, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his feare, that when the Hierarchy of *Eng-*

land ſhall light into the hands of buſie and audacious men, or ſhall meet with Princes tractable to the Prelacy, then much miſchiefe is like to enſue. And can it bee neerer hand, then when *Biſhops* ſhall openly affirme that, No *Biſhop*, no *King*? a trimme Paradox, and that yee may know where they have beene a begging for it, I will fetch you the Twin-brother to it out of the Jeſuites Cell; they feeling the Axe of Gods reformation hewing at the old and hollow trunk of Papacie, and finding the Spaniard their ſureſt friend, and ſafeſt refuge, to ſooth him up in his dreame of a fift Monarchy, and withall to uphold the decrepit Papalty have invented this ſuper-politick Aphoriſme, as one termes it, One Pope, and one King.

Surely there is not any Prince in *Chriſtendome*, who hearing this rare Sophiſtry can chooſe but ſmile, and if we be not blind at home we may as well perceive that this worthy Motto, No *Biſhop*, no *King* is of the ſame batch, and infanted out of the ſame feares, a meere ague-cake coagulated of a certaine Fever they have, preſaging their time to be but ſhort: and now like thoſe that are ſinking, they catch round at that which is likelieſt to hold them up. And would perſwade Regall Power, that if they dive, he muſt after. But what greater debaſement can there be to Royall Dignity, whoſe towring, and ſtedfaſt heighth reſts upon the unmovable foundations of Juſtice, and Heroick vertue, then to chaine it in a dependance of ſubſiſting, or ruining to the painted Battlements, and gaudy rottenneſſe of Prelatrie, which want but one puffe of the Kings to blow them down like a paſt-bord Houſe built of *Court-Cards*. Sir the little adoe, which me thinks I find in untacking theſe pleaſant Sophiſmes, puts mee into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further; and *Menenius Agrippa* ſpeed us.

A Tale.] Upon a time the Body ſummon'd all the Members to meet in the Guild for the common good (as *Æſops* Chronic'es averre many ſtranger Accidents) the head by right takes the firſt ſeat, and next to it a huge and monſtrous Wen little leſſe then the Head it ſelfe, growing to it by a narrower excreſcency. The members amaz'd began to aſke one another what hee was that took place next their cheif; none could reſolve. Whereat the Wen, though unweildy, with much adoe gets up and beſpeaks the Aſſembly to this purpoſe. That as in place he was ſecond to the head, ſo by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and ſtrength, and of ſpeciall neere relation, and that if the head ſhould faile, none were fitter then himſelfe to ſtep into his place; therefore hee thought it for the honour of the Body, that ſuch dignities and rich indowments ſhould be decreed him, as did adorne, and ſet out the nobleſt Members. To this was anſwer'd, that it ſhould bee conſulted. Then was a wiſe and learned Philoſopher ſent for, that knew all the Charters, Lawes, and Tenures of the Body. On him it is impos'd by all, as cheife Committee to examine, and diſcuſſe the claime and Petition of right put in by the Wen; who ſoone perceiving the matter, and wondring at the boldneſſe of ſuch a ſwolne Tumor, Wilt thou (quoth he) that art but a bottle of vitious and harden'd excrements, contend with the lawfull and free-borne members, whoſe certaine number is ſet by ancient, and unrepealable Statute? head thou art none, though thou receive this huge ſubſtance from it, what office bearſt thou? What good canſt thou ſhew by thee done to the Common-weale? the Wen not eaſily daſh't replies, that his Office was his glory, for ſo oft as the ſoule would retire out of the head from over the ſteaming vapours of the lower parts to Divine Contemplation, with him ſhee found

the pureſt, and quieteſt retreat, as being moſt remote from ſoile, and diſturbance. Lourdan, quoth the Philoſopher, thy folly is as great as thy filth; know that all the faculties of the Soule are confin'd of old to their ſeverall veſſels, and *ventricles*, from which they cannot part without diſſolution of the whole Body; and that thou containſt no good thing in thee, but a heape of hard, and loathſome uncleannes, and art to the head a foul disfigurment and burden, when I have cut thee off, and open'd thee, as by the help of theſe implements I will doe, all men ſhall ſee.

But to return, whence was digreſs't, ſeeing that the throne of a King, as the wiſe K. *Salomon* often remembers us, *is eſtabliſht in Juſtice*, which is the univerſall *Juſtice* that *Ariſtotle* ſo much praiſes, containing in it all other *vertues*, it may aſſure us that the fall of Prelacy, whoſe actions are ſo farre diſtant from *Juſtice*, cannot ſhake the leaſt fringe that borders the royal canopy: but that their ſtanding doth continually oppoſe, and lay battery to regal ſafety, ſhall by that which follows eaſily appear. Amongſt many ſecondary, and acceſſory cauſes that ſupport Monarchy, theſe are not of leaſt reckning, though common to all other States: the love of the Subjects, the multitude, and valor of the people, and ſtore of treaſure. In all theſe things hath the Kingdome bin of late ſore weak'nd, and chiefly by the Prelates. Firſt let any man conſider, that if any Prince ſhall ſuffer under him a commiſſion of autority to be exerciz'd, till all the Land grone, and cry out, as againſt a whippe of Scorpions, whether this be not likely to leſſen, and keel the affections of the Subject. Next what numbers of faithfull, and freeborn Engliſhmen, and good Chriſtians have bin conſtrain'd to forſake their deareſt home, their friends, and kindred, whom nothing but the wide Ocean, and the

ſavage deſerts of *America* could hide and ſhelter from the fury of the Biſhops. O Sir, if we could but ſee the ſhape of our deare Mother *England*, as Poets are wont to give a perſonal form to what they pleaſe, how would ſhe appeare, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with aſhes upon her head, and teares abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold ſo many of her children expos'd at once, and thruſt from things of dereſt neceſſity, becauſe their conſcience could not aſſent to things which the Biſhops thought *indifferent*. What more binding then Conſcience? what more free then *indifferency?* cruel then muſt that *indifferency* needs be, that ſhall violate the ſtrict neceſſity of Conſcience, merciles, and inhumane that free choyſe, and liberty that ſhall break aſunder the bonds of Religion. Let the Aſtrologer be diſmay'd at the portentous blaze of comets, and impreſſions in the aire as foretelling troubles and changes to ſtates: I ſhall beleeve there cannot be a more ill-boding ſigne to a Nation (*God* turne the Omen from us) then when the Inhabitants, to avoid inſufferable grievances at home, are inforc'd by heaps to forſake their native Country. Now wheras the only remedy, and amends againſt the depopulation, and thinneſſe of a Land within, is the borrow'd ſtrength of firme alliance from without, theſe Prieſtly policies of theirs having thus exhauſted our domeſtick forces, have gone the way alſo to leave us as naked of our firmeſt, & faithfulleſt neighbours abroad, by diſparaging, and alienating from us all Proteſtant Princes, and Common-wealths, who are not ignorant that our Prelats, and as many as they can infect, account them no better then a ſort of ſacrilegious, and puritanical Rebels, preferring the *Spaniard* our deadly enemy before them, and ſet all orthodox writers at nought in compariſon of the Jeſuits, who are indeed the onely corrupters

of youth, and good learning; and I have heard many wiſe, and learned men in *Italy* ſay as much. It cannot be that the ſtrongeſt knot of confederacy ſhould not dayly ſlak'n, when Religion which is the chieſe ingagement of our league ſhall be turn'd to their reproach. Hence it is that the proſperous, and prudent ſtates of the united Provinces, whom we ought to love, if not for themſelves, yet for our own good work in them, they having bin in a manner planted, and erected by us, and having bin ſince to us the faithfull watchmen, and diſcoverers of many a Popiſh, and Auſtrian complotted Treaſon, and with us the partners of many a bloody, and victorious battell, whom the ſimilitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffick, which founded the old Burgundian league betwixt us, but chiefly Religion ſhould bind to us immortally, even ſuch friends as theſe, out of ſome principles inſtill'd into us by the Prelates, have bin often diſmiſt with diſtaſtfull anſwers, and ſomtimes unfriendly actions: nor is it to be conſider'd to the breach of confederate Nations whoſe mutual intereſt is of ſuch high conſequence, though their Merchants bicker in the Eaſt Indies, neither is it ſafe, or warie, or indeed Chriſtianly, that the *French* King, of a different Faith, ſhould afford our neereſt Allyes as good protection as we. Sir, I perſwade my ſelfe, if our zeale to true Religion, and the brotherly uſage of our trueſt friends were as notorious to the world, as our *Prelatical Schiſm*, and captivity to *Rotchet Apothegmes*, we had ere this ſeene our old Conquerours, and afterward Liege-men the *Normans*, together with the *Brittains* our proper Colony, and all the *Gaſcoins* that are the rightfull *Dowry* of our ancient Kings, come with cap, and knee, deſiring the ſhadow of the *Engliſh* Scepter to defend them from the hot perſecutions and taxes of the *French*. But when

they come hither, and ſee a Tympany of *Spanioliz'd Biſhops* ſwaggering in the fore-top of the State, and meddling to turne, and dandle the *Royall Ball* with unſkilfull and *Pedantick palmes*, no marvell though they think it as unſafe to commit Religion, and liberty to their arbitrating as to a Synagogue of Ieſuites.

But what doe I ſtand reck'ning upon advantages, and gaines loſt by the miſ-rule, and turbulency of the *Prelats*, what doe I pick up ſo thriftily their ſcatterings and diminiſhings of the meaner Subject, whilſt they by their ſeditious practiſes have indanger'd to looſe the King one third of his main Stock; what have they not done to baniſh him from his owne Native Countrey? but to ſpeake of this as it ought would aſk a Volume by it ſelfe.

Thus as they have unpeopl'd the Kingdome by expulſion of ſo many thouſands, as they have endeavor'd to lay the ſkirts of it bare by diſheartning and diſhonouring our loyalleſt Confederates abroad, ſo have they hamſtrung the valour of the Subject by ſeeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wiſe Nation that their Liberty conſiſts in manly and honeſt labours, in ſobriety and rigorous honour to the Marriage Bed, which in both Sexes ſhould be bred up from chaſt hopes to loyall Enjoyments; and when the people ſlacken, and fall to looſenes, and riot, then doe they as much as if they laid downe their necks for ſome wily Tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt *Cyrus* to tame the *Lydians*, whom by Armes he could not, whilſt they kept themſelves from Luxury; with one eaſy Proclamation to ſet up *Stews*, dancing, feaſting, & dicing he made them ſoone his ſlaves. I know not what drift the *Prelats* had, whoſe Brokers they were to prepare, and ſupple us either for a Forreigne Invaſion or Domeſtick oppreſſion; but this I

am ſure they took the ready way to deſpoile us both of *manhood* and *grace* at once, and that in the ſhamefulleſt and ungodlieſt manner upon that day which Gods Law, and even our own reaſon hath conſecrated, that we might have one day at leaſt of ſeven ſet apart wherein to examin and encreaſe our knowledge of God, to meditate, and commune of our Faith, our Hope, our eternall City in Heaven, and to quick'n, withall, the ſtudy, and exerciſe of Charity; at ſuch a time that men ſhould bee pluck't from their ſobereſt and ſaddeſt thoughts, and by *Biſhops* the pretended *Fathers of the Church* inſtigated by publique Edict, and with earneſt indeavour puſh't forward to gaming, jigging, waſſailing, and mixt dancing is a horror to think. Thus did the Reprobate hireling Preiſt *Balaam* ſeeke to ſubdue the Iſraelites to *Moab*, if not by force, then by this divelliſh *Pollicy*, to draw them from the Sanctuary of God to the luxurious, and ribald feaſts of *Baalpeor*. Thus have they treſpas't not onely againſt the *Monarchy* of *England*, but of Heaven alſo, as others, I doubt not, can proſecute againſt them.

I proceed within my own bounds to ſhew you next what good Agents they are about the Revennues and Riches of the Kingdome, which declares of what moment they are to *Monarchy*, or what availe. Two Leeches they have that ſtill ſuck, and ſuck the Kingdome, their Ceremonies, and their Courts. If any man will contend that Ceremonies bee lawfull under the Goſpell, hee may bee anſwer'd otherwhere. This doubtleſſe that they ought to bee many and over-coſtly, no true *Proteſtant* will affirme. Now I appeale to all wiſe men, what an exceſſive waſt of Treaſury hath beene within theſe few yeares in this Land not in the expedient, but in the Idolatrous erection of Temples beautified exquiſitely to out-vie the Papiſts, the coſtly and deare-

bought Scandals, and ſnares of Images, Pictures, rich Coaps, gorgeous Altar-clothes: and by the courſes they tooke; and the opinions they held, it was not likely any ſtay would be, or any end of their madnes, where a pious pretext is ſo ready at hand to cover their inſatiate deſires. What can we ſuppoſe this will come to? What other materials then theſe have built up the *ſpirituall* BABEL to the heighth of her Abominations? Beleeve it Sir right truly it may be ſaid, that *Antichriſt* is *Mammons* Son. The ſoure levin of humane Traditions mixt in one putrifi'd Maſſe with the poiſonous dregs of hypocriſie in the hearts of *Prelates* that lye baſking in the Sunny warmth of Wealth, and Promotion, is the Serpents Egge that will hatch an *Antichriſt* whereſoever, and ingender the ſame Monſter as big, or little as the Lump is which breeds him. If the ſplendor of *Gold* and *Silver* begin to Lord it once againe in the Church of *England*, wee ſhall ſee *Antichriſt* ſhortly wallow heere, though his cheife Kennell be at *Rome*. If they had one thought upon *Gods glory* and the advancement of Chriſtian Faith, they would be a meanes that with theſe expences thus profuſely throwne away in traſh, rather *Churches* and *Schools* might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are; a moderate maintenance diſtributed to every painfull Miniſter, that now ſcarſe ſuſtaines his Family with Bread, while the *Prelats* revell like *Belſhazzar* with their full carouſes in *Goblets*, and *veſſels* of *gold* ſnatcht from *Gods Temple*. Which (I hope) the Worthy Men of our Land will conſider. Now then for their COVRTS. What a Maſſe of Money is drawne from the Veines into the Ulcers of the Kingdome this way; their Extortions, their open Corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous Harpies that ſwarme about their Offices declare

ſufficiently. And what though all this go not overſea? 'twere better it did: better a penurious Kingdom, then where exceſſive wealth flowes into the *graceleſſe* and injurious hands of common ſponges to the impoveriſhing of good and loyall men, and that by ſuch execrable, ſuch irreligious courſes.

If the ſacred and dreadfull works of holy *Diſcipline*, *Cenſure*, *Pennance*, *Excommunication*, and *Abſolution*, where no prophane thing ought to have acceſſe, nothing to be aſſiſtant but ſage and Chriſtianly *Admonition*, brotherly *Love*, flaming *Charity*, and *Zeale*; and then according to the Effects, Paternall *Sorrow*, or Paternall *Joy*, milde *Severity*, melting *Compaſſion*, if ſuch Divine *Miniſteries* as theſe, wherin the Angel of the *Church* repreſents the Perſon of *Chriſt Jeſus*, muſt lie proſtitute to ſordid Fees, and not paſſe to and fro betweene our Saviour that of free grace redeem'd us, and the ſubmiſſive Penitent, without the truccage of periſhing Coine, and the Butcherly execution of Tormentors, Rooks, and Rakeſhames ſold to lucre, then have the Babiloniſh Marchants of *Soules* juſt excuſe. Hitherto Sir you have heard how the *Prelates* have weaken'd and withdrawne the externall Accompliſhments of Kingly proſperity, the love of the People, their multitude, their valour, their wealth; mining, and ſapping the out-works, and redoubts of *Monarchy*; now heare how they ſtrike at the very heart, and vitals.

We know that *Monarchy* is made up of two parts, the Liberty of the ſubject, and the ſupremacie of the King. I begin at the root. See what gentle, and benigne Fathers they have beene to our liberty. Their trade being, by the ſame Alchymy that the *Pope* uſes, to extract heaps of *gold*, and *ſilver* out of the droſſie *Bullion* of the Peoples ſinnes, and juſtly fearing that the quick-ſighted *Proteſtants* eye clear'd

in great part from the mist of Superstition, may at one time or other looke with a good judgement into these their deceitfull Pedleries, to gaine as many associats of guiltines as they can, and to infect the temporall Magistrate with the like lawlesse though not sacrilegious extortion, see a while what they doe; they ingage themselves to preach, and perswade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this *Monarchy* the most pernicious and destructive that could bee chosen. What more banefull to *Monarchy* then a Popular Commotion, for the dissolution of *Monarchy* slides aptest into a *Democraty;* and what stirs the Englishmen, as our wisest writers have observ'd, sooner to rebellion, then violent, and heavy hands upon their goods and purses? Yet these devout *Prelates*, spight of our great Charter, and the soules of our Progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the *Norman* gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowesse, for these many years have not ceas't in their Pulpits wrinching, and spraining the *text*, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred, and life blood Lawes, Statutes, and Acts of *Parliament* that are the holy Cov'nant of Union, and Marriage betweene the King and his Realme, by proscribing, and confiscating from us all the right we have to our owne bodies, goods and liberties. What is this, but to blow a trumpet, and proclaime a fire-crosse to a hereditary, and perpetuall civill warre. Thus much against the Subjects Liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spar'd Supremacie, or likely are hereafter to submit to it, remaines lastly to bee consider'd.

The emulation that under the old Law was in the King toward the *Preist*, is now so come about in the Gospell, that all the danger is to be fear'd from the *Preist* to the *King*. Whilst the *Preists Office* in the

Law was ſet out with an exteriour luſtre of Pomp and glory, Kings were ambitious to be *Preiſts*; now *Prieſts* not perceiving the heavenly brightneſſe, and inward ſplendor of their more glorious *Evangelick Miniſtery* with as great ambition affect to be Kings; as in all their courſes is eaſie to be obſerv'd. Their eyes ever imminent upon worldly matters, their deſires ever thirſting after worldly employments, in ſtead of diligent and fervent ſtudie in the Bible, they covet to be expert in Canons, and Decretals, which may inable them to judge, and interpoſe in temporall Cauſes, however pretended *Eccleſiaſticall*. Doe they not hord up *Pelfe*, ſeeke to bee potent in *ſecular Strength*, in *State Affaires*, in *Lands*, *Lordſhips*, and *Demeanes*, to *ſway* and carry all before them in *high Courts*, and *Privie Counſels*, to bring into their graſp, the *high*, and *principall Offices* of the Kingdom? have they not been bold of late to check the *Common Law*, to ſlight and brave the indiminiſhable Majeſtie of our higheſt Court the Lawgiving and Sacred *Parliament*? Doe they not plainly labour to exempt *Churchmen* from the *Magiſtrate*? Yea, ſo preſumptuouſly as to queſtion, and menace *Officers* that repreſent the *Kings Perſon* for uſing their Authority againſt drunken *Preiſts*? The cauſe of protecting *murderous Clergie-men* was the firſt heart-burning that ſwel'd up the audacious *Becket* to the peſtilent, and odious vexation of *Henry* the ſecond. Nay more, have not ſome of their devoted Schollers begun, I need not ſay to nibble, but openly to argue againſt the Kings *Supremacie*? is not the Cheife of them accus'd out of his owne Booke, and his *late Canons* to affect a certaine unqueſtionable *Patriarchat*, independent and unſubordinate to the Crowne? From whence having firſt brought us to a ſervile *Eſtate* of *Religion*, and *Manhood*, and having prediſpos'd his conditions with the *Pope*, that layes

claime to this *Land*, or ſome *Pepin* of his owne creating, it were all as likely for him to aſpire to the *Monarchy* among us, as that the *Pope* could finde meanes ſo on the ſudden both to bereave the Emperour of the *Roman Territory* with the favour of *Italy*, and by an unexpected friend out of *France*, while he was in danger to loſe his *new-got Purchaſe*, beyond hope to leap in to the faire *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*.

A good while the *Pope* ſuttl'y acted the *Lamb*, writing to the Emperour, my Lord *Tiberius*, my Lord *Mauritius*, but no ſooner did this his Lord pluck at the Images, and Idols, but hee threw off his Sheepes clothing, and ſtarted up a Wolfe, laying his pawes upon the Emperours right, as forfeited to *Peter*. Why may not wee as well, having been forewarn'd at home by our renowned *Chaucer*, and from abroad by the great and learned *Padre Paolo*, from the like beginnings, as we ſee they are, feare the like events? Certainly a wiſe, and provident King ought to ſuſpect a *Hierarchy* in his Realme, being ever attended, as it is, with two ſuch greedy Purveyers, Ambition and Uſurpation, I ſay hee ought to ſuſpect a *Hierarchy* to bee as dangerous and derogatory from his Crown as a *Tetrarchy* or a *Heptarchy*. Yet now that the *Prelates* had almoſt attain'd to what their inſolent, and unbridl'd minds had hurried them; to thruſt the Laitie under the deſpoticall rule of the *Monarch*, that they themſelves might confine the *Monarch* to a kind of Pupillage under their *Hierarchy*, obſerve but how their own *Principles* combat one another, and ſupplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a ſervile peace, by leſſening our numbers, dreining our eſtates, enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free ſpirits by thoſe wayes as you have heard, their impotent ac-

tions cannot ſuſtaine themſelves the leaſt moment, unleſſe they rouze us up to a *Warre* fit for *Cain* to be the Leader of; an abhorred, a curſed, a Fraternall *Warre*. ENGLAND and SCOTLAND deare Brothers both in *Nature*, and in CHRIST muſt be ſet to wade in one anothers blood; and IRELAND our free Denizon upon the back of us both, as occaſion ſhould ſerve: a piece of Service that the *Pope* and all his Factors have beene compaſſing to doe ever ſince the *Reformation*.

But ever-bleſſed be he, and ever glorifi'd that from his high watch-Tower in the Heav'ns diſcerning the crooked wayes of perverſe, and cruell men, hath hitherto maim'd, and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great Wizzards with a deluſion fit for fooles and children; had GOD beene ſo minded hee could have ſent a Spirit of *Mutiny* amongſt us, as hee did betweene *Abimilech* and the *Sechemites*, to have made our Funerals and ſlaine heaps more in number then the miſerable ſurviving remnant, but he, when wee leaſt deſerv'd, ſent out a gentle gale, and meſſage of peace from the wings of thoſe his Cherubins, that fanne his Mercy-ſeat. Nor ſhall the *wiſdome*, the *moderation*, the *Chriſtian Pietie*, the *Conſtancy* of our Nobility and Commons of *England* be ever forgotten, whoſe calme, and temperat connivence could ſit ſtill, and ſmile out the ſtormy bluſter of men more audacious, and precipitant, then of ſolid and deep reach, till their own fury had run it ſelfe out of breath, aſſailing, by raſh and heady *approches*, the impregnable ſituation of our Liberty and ſafety, that laught ſuch weake enginry to ſcorne, ſuch poore drifts to make a *Nationall Warre* of a *Surplice Brabble*, a *Tippet-ſcuffle*, and ingage the unattainted Honour of *Engliſh* Knighthood, to unfurle the ſtreaming *Red Croſſe*, or to reare the horrid *Standard* of thoſe fatall guly

Dragons for ſo unworthy a purpoſe, as to force upon their *Fellow-Subjects*, that which themſelves are weary of, the *Skeleton* of a *Maſſe-Booke*. Nor muſt the *Patience*, the *Fortitude*, the *firme Obedience* of the Nobles and People of *Scotland* ſtriving againſt manifold Provocations, nor muſt their ſincere and moderate proceedings hitherto, be unremember'd, to the ſhamefull Conviction of all their Detractors.

Goe on both hand in hand O NATIONS never to be diſ-united, be the *Praiſe* and the *Heroick Song* of all POSTERITY; merit this, but ſeeke onely *Vertue*, not to extend your Limits; for what needs? to win a fading triumphant *Lawrell* out of the *teares* of *wretched Men*, but to ſettle the *pure worſhip* of *God* in his Church, and *juſtice* in the State, then ſhall the hardeſt difficulties ſmooth out themſelves before ye; *envie* ſhall ſink to hell, *craft* and *malice* be confounded, whether it be homebred miſcheif, or outlandiſh cunning: yea other Nations will then covet to ſerve ye, for Lordſhip and victory are but the pages of *juſtice* and *vertue*. Commit ſecurely to true *wiſdome* the vanquiſhing and uncaſing of craft and ſuttletie, which are but her two runnagates: joyn your invincible might to doe worthy, and Godlike deeds, and then he that ſeeks to break your union, a cleaving curſe be his inheritance to all generations.

Sir, you have now at length this queſtion for the time, and as my memory would beſt ſerve me in ſuch a copious, and vaſt theme, fully handl'd, and you your ſelfe may judge whether Prelacy be the only Church-goverment agreeable to MONARCHY. Seeing therfore the perillous, and confuſed eſtate into which we are faln, and that to the certain knowledge of all men through the irreligious pride and hatefull Tyranny of Prelats (as the innumerable, and grievous complaints of every ſhire cry out) if

we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure Religion, or sound Policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier, and cut away from the publick body the noysom, and diseased tumor of Prelacie, and come from Schisme to *unity* with our neighbour Reformed sister Churches, which with the blessing of *peace* and *pure doctrine* have now long time flourish'd; and doubtles with all hearty *joy*, and *gratulation*, will meet, and welcome our Christian *union* with them, as they have bin all this while griev'd at our strangenes and little better then separation from them. And for the Discipline propounded, seeing that it hath bin inevitably prov'd that the natural, and fundamental causes of political happines in all goverments are the same, and that this Church Discipline is taught in the Word of *God*, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such states as have receiv'd it, we may infallibly assure our selvs that it will as wel agree with Monarchy, though all the Tribe of *Aphorismers*, and *Politicasters* would perswade us there be secret, and misterious reasons against it. For upon the setling hereof mark what nourishing and cordial restorements to the State will follow, the Ministers of the Gospel attending only to the work of *salvation* every one within his limited charge, besides the diffusive blessings of *God* upon all our actions, the King shall sit without an old disturber, a dayly incroacher, and intruder; shall ridde his Kingdome of a strong sequester'd, and collateral power; a confronting miter, whose potent wealth, and wakefull ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousie: not to repeat the other present evills which only their removal will remove. And because things simply pure are inconsistent in the masse of nature, nor are the elements or humors in Mans Body exactly *homogeneall*, and hence the best founded Common-

wealths, and leaſt barbarous have aym'd at a certaine mixture and temperament, partaking the ſeverall vertues of each other State, that each part drawing to it ſelfe may keep up a ſteddy, and eev'n uprightneſſe in common.

There is no Civill *Goverment* that hath beene known, no not the *Spartan*, not the *Roman*, though both for this reſpect ſo much prais'd by the wiſe *Polybius*, more divinely and harmoniouſly tun'd, more equally ballanc'd as it were by the hand and ſcale of Juſtice, then is the Common-wealth of *England:* where under a free, and untutor'd *Monarch*, the nobleſt, worthieſt, and moſt prudent men, with full approbation, and ſuffrage of the People have in their power the ſupreame, and finall determination of higheſt Affaires. Now if Conformity of Church *Diſcipline* to the Civill be ſo deſir'd, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, then when under the Soveraigne Prince *Chriſts* Vicegerent uſing the *Scepter* of *David*, according to *Gods Law*, the *godlieſt*, the *wiſeſt*, the *learnedeſt* Miniſters in their ſeverall charges have the inſtructing and diſciplining of *Gods people* by whoſe full and free Election they are conſecrated to that holy and equall *Ariſtocracy*. And why ſhould not the Piety, and Conſcience of *Engliſhmen* as members of the Church be truſted in the Election of Paſtors to Functions that nothing concerne a *Monarch*, as well as their worldly wiſedomes are priviledg'd as *members* of the *State* in ſuffraging their Knights, and Burgeſſes to matters that concern him neerely? And if in weighing theſe ſeverall Offices, their difference in time and qualitie be caſt in, I know they will not turn the beame of equall Judgement the moity of a ſcruple. Wee therfore having already a kind of Apoſtolicall, and ancient *Church* Election in our State, what a perverſneſſe would it be in us of

all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious, and ſtately Election in our *Church?* And what a blindneſſe to thinke that what is already Evangelicall as it were by a happy chance in our *Politie*, ſhould be repugnant to that which is the ſame by divine command in the Miniſtery? Thus then wee ſee that our Eccleſiall, and Politicall choyſes may conſent and ſort as well together without any rupture in the STATE, as Chriſtians, and Freeholders. But as for honour, that ought indeed to be different, and diſtinct as either Office looks a ſeverall way, the Miniſter whoſe *Calling* and *end* is ſpirituall, ought to be honour'd as a Father and Phyſitian to the Soule (if he be found to be ſo) with a *Son*-like and *Diſciple*-like reverence, which is indeed the deareſt, and moſt affectionate *honour*, moſt to be deſir'd by a wiſe man, and ſuch as will eaſily command a free and plentifull proviſion of outward neceſſaries, without his furder care of this world.

The Magiſtrate whoſe Charge is to ſee to our Perſons, and Eſtates, is to bee honour'd with a more elaborate and perſonall Courtſhip, with large Salaries and Stipends, that hee himſelfe may abound in thoſe things whereof his legall juſtice and watchfull care gives us the quiet enjoyment. And this diſtinction of Honour will bring forth a ſeemly and gracefull Uniformity over all the Kingdome.

Then ſhall the Nobles poſſeſſe all the Dignities and Offices of temporall honour to themſelves, ſole Lords without the improper mixture of Scholaſtick, and puſillanimous upſtarts, the *Parliament* ſhall void her *Upper Houſe* of the ſame annoyances, the Common, and Civill *Lawes* ſhall be both ſet free, the former from the controule, the other from the meere vaſſalage and *Copy-hold* of the *Clergie*.

And wheras *temporall Lawes* rather puniſh men when they have tranſgreſs't, then form them to be

ſuch as ſhould tranſgreſſe ſeldomeſt, wee may conceive great hopes through the ſhowres of Divine Benediction, watering the unmoleſted and watchfull paines of the *Miniſtery*, that the whole Inheritance of God will grow up ſo ſtraight and blameleſſe, that the Civill Magiſtrate may with farre leſſe toyle and difficulty, and far more eaſe and delight ſteare the tall and goodly *Veſſell* of the Common-wealth through all the guſts and tides of the Worlds mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that ſome Objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, preſſe mee to the endevour of an anſwere. We muſt not run they ſay into ſudden extreams. This is a fallacious Rule, unleſſe underſtood only of the actions of Vertue about things indifferent, for if it be found that thoſe two extreames be *Vice* and *Vertue*, *Falſhood* and *Truth*, the greater extremity of *Vertue* and ſuperlative *Truth* we run into, the more *vertuous*, and the more *wiſe* wee become; and hee that flying from degenerate and traditionall corruption, feares to ſhoot himſelfe too far into the meeting imbraces of a Divinely-warranted *Reformation*, had better not have run at all. And for the ſuddenneſſe it cannot be fear'd. Who ſhould oppoſe it? The *Papiſts?* They dare not. The *Proteſtants* otherwiſe affected. They were mad. There is nothing will be remoov'd but what to them is profeſs'dly indifferent. The long affection which the People have borne to it, what for it ſelfe, what for the odiouſnes of *Prelates*, is evident: from the firſt yeare of Qu. *Elizabeth*, it hath ſtill beene more and more propounded, deſir'd, and beſeech't, yea ſometimes favourably forwarded by the *Parliaments* themſelves. Yet if it were ſudden & ſwift, provided ſtill it be from worſe to better, certainly wee ought to hie us from evill like a torrent, and rid

our ſelves of corrupt Diſcipline, as wee would ſhake fire out of our boſomes.

Speedy and vehement were the *Reformations* of all the good Kings of *Juda*, though the people had beene nuzzl'd in Idolatry never ſo long before; they fear'd not the bug-bear danger, nor the Lyon in the way that the ſluggiſh and timorous Politician thinks he ſees; no more did our Brethren of the *Reformed Churches* abroad; they ventur'd (God being their guide) out of rigid POPERY, into that which wee in mockery call preciſe *Puritaniſme*, and yet wee ſee no inconvenience befell them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full bleſſing, to take as much of it as wee think will ſerve our ends, and turne him back the reſt upon his hands, leſt in his anger he ſnatch all from us again. Next they alledge the *antiquity* of *Epiſcopacy* through all *Ages*. What it was in the *Apoſtles* time, that queſtionleſſe it muſt be ſtill, and therein I truſt the Miniſters will be able to ſatisfie the *Parliament*. But if *Epiſcopacie* be taken for *Prelacie*, all the Ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable then *Papacie*.

Moſt certaine it is (as all our *Stories* beare witneſſe) that ever ſince their comming to the See of *Canterbury* for neere twelve hundred yeares, to ſpeake of them in generall, they have beene in *England* to our Soules a ſad and dolefull ſucceſſion of illiterate and blind guides: to our purſes, and goods a waſtfull band of robbers, a perpetuall havock, and rapine: To our ſtate a continuall *Hydra* of miſchiefe, and moleſtation, the forge of diſcord and Rebellion: This is the Trophey of their Antiquity, and boaſted Succeſſion through ſo many Ages. And for thoſe *Prelat-Martyrs* they glory of, they are to bee judg'd what they were by the *Goſpel*, and not the *Goſpel* to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted that if they were for Bishopricks and Ceremonies, it was in their prosperitie, and fulnes of bread, but in their persecution, which purifi'd them, and neer their death, which was their garland, they plainely dislik'd and condemn'd the Ceremonies, and threw away those Episcopall ornaments wherein they were instal'd, as foolish and detestable, for so the words of *Ridley* at his degradment, and his letter to *Hooper* expressly shew. Neither doth the Author of our Church History spare to record sadly the fall (for so he termes it) and infirmities of these Martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their Martyrdom more countnance corrupt doctrine, or discipline, then their subscriptions justify their Treason to the Royall blood of this Relm, by diverting and intaling the right of the Crown from the true heires, to the houses of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk*, which had it tooke effect, this present King had in all likelyhood never sat on this Throne, and the happy union of this Iland had bin frustrated.

Lastly, whereas they adde that some the learnedest of the reformed abroad admire our Episcopacy, it had bin more for the strength of the Argument to tell us that som of the wisest *Statesmen* admire it, for thereby we might guesse them weary of the present discipline, as offensive to their State, which is the bugge we feare; but being they are Churchmen, we may rather suspect them for some *Prelatizing-spirits* that admire our *Bishopricks*, not *Episcopacy*. The next objection vanishes of it selfe, propounding a doubt, whether a greater inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other discipline, then from that of *Episcopacy*. This seemes an unseasonable foresight, and out of order to deferre, and put off the most needfull constitution of one right *discipline*, while we stand ballancing the

diſcommodity's of two corrupt ones. Firſt conſtitute that which is right, and of it ſelfe it will diſcover, and rectify that which ſwervs, and eaſily remedy the pretended feare of having a *Pope* in every Pariſh, unleſſe we call the zealous, and meek cenſure of the *Church*, a *Popedom*, which who ſo does let him adviſe how he can reject the Paſtorly *Rod*, and Sheep-hooke of CHRIST, and thoſe cords of love, and not feare to fall under the iron *Scepter* of his anger that will daſh him to peeces like a Potſherd.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder; whether this diſcipline which we deſire, be ſuch as can be put in practiſe within this Kingdom, they ſay it cannot ſtand with the common Law, nor with the Kings ſafety; the government of Epiſcopacy, is now ſo weav'd into the common Law: In *Gods* name let it weave out againe; let not humain quillets keep back divine authority. Tis not the common Law, nor the civil, but piety, and juſtice, that are our foundreſſes; they ſtoop not, neither change colour for *Ariſtocracy*, *democraty*, or *Monarchy*, nor yet at all interrupt their juſt courſes, but farre above the taking notice of theſe inferior niceties with perfect ſympathy, where ever they meet, kiſſe each other. Laſtly, they are fearfull that the diſcipline which will ſucceed cannot ſtand with the Ks. ſafety. Wherefore? it is but *Epiſcopacy* reduc't to what it ſhould be, were it not that the Tyranny of *Prelates* under the name of *Biſhops* hath made our eares tender, and ſtartling, we might call every good Miniſter a *Biſhop*, as every *Biſhop*, yea the *Apoſtles* themſelves are call'd Miniſters, and the *Angels miniſtring Spirits*, and the *Miniſters* againe *Angels*. But wherein is this propounded government ſo ſhrewd? Becauſe the goverment of aſſemblies will ſucceed. Did not the *Apoſtles* govern the Church by aſſemblies,

how ſhould it elſe be Catholik, how ſhould it have Communion? Wee count it Sacrilege to take from the rich *Prelates* their Lands, and revenu's which is Sacrilege in them to keep, uſing them as they doe, and can we think it ſafe to defraude the living Church of GOD of that right which GOD has given her in aſſemblies! O but the conſequence: Aſſemblies draw to them the Supremacy of Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction. No ſurely, they draw no Supremacy, but that authority which CHRIST, and Saint *Paul* in his name conferrs upon them. The K. may ſtill retain the ſame Supremacy in the Aſſemblies, as in the *Parliament*, here he can do nothing alone againſt the common Law, and there neither alone, nor with conſent againſt the Scriptures. But is this all? No, this Eccleſiaſticall Supremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate Kings; and then followes the worſt that can be imagin'd. Doe they hope to avoyd this by keeping *Prelates* that have ſo often don it? Not to exemplifie the malapert inſolence of our owne *Biſhops* in this kind towards our Kings: I ſhall turn back to the *Primitive*, and pure times, which the objecters would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an aſſembly, but one *Biſhop* alone, Saint AMBROSE of *Millan*, held *Theodoſius* the moſt Chriſtian Emperor under excommunication above eight moneths together, drove him from the Church in the preſence of his Nobles, which the good Emperor bore with heroick *humility*, and never ceas't by prayers, and teares, till he was abſolv'd, for which coming to the Biſhop with *Supplication* into the *Salutatory*, ſome out Porch of the Church, he was charg'd by him of tyrannicall madnes againſt GOD, for comming into holy ground. At laſt upon conditions abſolv'd, and after great *humiliation* approaching to the Altar to offer (as thoſe thriſe

pure times then thought meet) he had ſcarſe withdrawne his hand, and ſtood awhile, when a bold Arch-deacon comes in the Biſhops name, and chaces him from within the railes telling him peremptorily that the place wherein he ſtood, was for none but the *Prieſts* to enter, or to touch: and this is another peece of pure *Primitive Divinity*. Thinke yee then our Biſhops will forgoe the power of excommunication on whomſoever? No certainly, unleſſe to compaſſe ſiniſter ends, and then revoke when they ſee their time. And yet this moſt mild, though withall dredfull, and inviolable Prerogative of *Chriſts* diadem excommunication ſervs for nothing with them, but to prog, and pandar for fees, or to diſplay their pride and ſharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the Law, and I remember not whether in ſome caſes it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods, and Inheritances beſides the deniall of Chriſtian buriall. But in the Evangelical, and reformed uſe of this ſacred cenſure, no ſuch proſtitution, no ſuch *Iſcariotical* drifts are to be doubted, as that *Spirituall* doom, and ſentence, ſhould invade worldly poſſeſſion, which is the rightfull lot and portion, even of the wickedeſt men, as frankly beſtow'd upon them by the al-diſpenſing bounty, as *rain*, and *Sun-ſhine*. No, no, it ſeekes not to bereave or deſtroy the body, it ſeekes to ſaue the Soule by humbling the body, not by Impriſonment, or pecuniary mulct, much leſſe by ſtripes or bonds, or diſinheritance, but by Fatherly admoniſhment, and Chriſtian rebuke, to caſt it into godly ſorrow, whoſe end is joy, and ingenuous baſhfulneſſe to ſin: if that can not be wrought, then as a tender Mother takes her Child and holds it over the pit with ſcarring words that it may learne to feare, where danger is, ſo doth excommunication as deerly, and as freely without money, uſe her wholſome

and ſaving terrors, ſhe is inſtant, ſhe beſeeches, by all the deere, and ſweet promiſes of SALVATION ſhe entices and woos, by all the threatnings, and thunders of the *Law*, and rejected *Goſſpel* ſhe charges, and adjures; this is all her Armory, her munition, her Artillery, then ſhe awaites with long-ſufferance, and yet ardent zeale. In briefe, there is no act in all the errand of *Gods Miniſters* to man-kind, wherein paſſes more loverlike conteſtation betweene CHRIST and the Soule of a regenerate man lapſing, then before, and in, and after the ſentence of Excommunication. As for the fogging proctorage of money, with ſuch an eye as ſtrooke *Gehezi* with Leproſy, and *Simon Magus* with a curſe, ſo does ſhe looke, and ſo threaten her firy whip againſt that banking den of theeves that dare thus baffle, and buy and ſell the awfull, and majeſtick wrincles of her brow. He that is rightly and apoſtolically ſped with her inviſible arrow, if he can be at peace in his Soule, and not ſmel within him the brimſtone of Hell, may have faire leave to tell all his baggs over undiminiſh't of the leaſt farding, may eat his dainties, drinke his wine, uſe his delights, enjoy his Lands, and liberties, not the leaſt ſkin rais'd, not the leaſt haire miſplac't for all that excommunication has done: much more may a King injoy his rights, and Prerogatives undeflowr'd, untouch'd, and be as abſolute, and compleat a King, as all his royalties and revenu's can make him. And therefore little did *Theodoſius* fear a plot upon his Empire when he ſtood excommunicat by Saint *Ambroſe*, though it were done either with much hauty pride, or ignorant zeale. But let us rather look upon the reformed Churches beyond the ſeas, the *Grizons*, the *Suiſſes*, the *Hollanders*, the *French*, that have a Supremacy to live under as well as we, where do the Churches in all theſe places ſtrive for Supremacy, where do

they clash and justle Supremacies with the Civil *Magistrate?* In *France* a more severe Monarchy then ours, the *Protestants* under this Church goverment carry the name of the best Subjects the King has; and yet *Presbytery*, if it must be so call'd, does there all that it desires to doe: how easie were it, if there be such great suspicion, to give no more scope to it in *England*. But let us not for feare of a scarrecrow, or else through hatred to be reform'd stand hankering and politizing, when GOD with spread hands testifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be so overcredulous, unlesse GOD hath blinded us, as to trust our deer Soules into the hands of men that beg so devoutly for the pride, and gluttony of their owne backs, and bellies, that sue and sollicite so eagerly, not for the saving of Soules, the consideration of which can have heer no place at all, but for their Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebends, and Chanonies; how can these men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the bribe of their own pleading; whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath, and loud stench of avarice, Simony, and Sacrilege, embezling the treasury of the Church on painted, and guilded walles of Temples wherein GOD hath testified to have no delight, warming their Palace Kitchins, and from thence their unctuous, and epicurean paunches, with the almes of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orfan, the widow, for with these the treasury of CHRIST ought to be, here must be his jewels bestow'd, his rich Cabinet must be emptied heer; as the constant martyr Saint *Laurence* taught the *Roman Prætor*. Sir would you know what the remonstrance of these men would have, what their Petition imply's? They intreate us that we would not be weary of those insupportable greevances that our shoulders have hitherto crackt

under, they beſeech us that we would think'em fit to be our Juſtices of peace, our Lords, our higheſt officers of State, though they come furniſh't with no more experience then they learnt betweene the *Cook*, and the *manciple*, or more profoundly at the Colledge *audit*, or the *regent houſe*, or to come to their deepeſt inſight, at their *Patrons Table*; they would requeſt us to indure ſtill the ruffling of their Silken Caſſocks, and that we would burſt our *midriffes* rather then laugh to ſee them under Sayl in all their Lawn, and Sarcenet, their ſhrouds, and tackle, with a *geometricall rhomboides* upon their heads: they would bear us in hand that we muſt of duty ſtill appear before them once a year in *Jeruſalem* like good circumcizd *males*, and *Females* to be taxt by the poul, to be ſcons't our head money, our tuppences in their Chaunlerly Shop-book of *Eaſter*. They pray us that it would pleaſe us to let them ſtill hale us, and worrey us with their band-dogs, and Purſivants; and that it would pleaſe the *Parliament* that they may yet have the whipping, fleecing, and fleaing of us in their diabolical Courts to tear the fleſh from our bones, and into our wide wounds inſtead of balm, to power in the oil of Tartar, vitriol, and mercury; Surely a right reaſonable, innocent, and ſoft-hearted Petition. O the relenting bowels of the Fathers. Can this bee granted them unleſſe God have ſmitten us with frenſie from above, and with a dazling giddineſſe at noon day? Should not thoſe men rather be heard that come to plead againſt their owne preferments, their worldly advantages, their owne abundance; for honour, and obedience to *Gods word*, the converſion of Soules, the *Chriſtian peace* of the Land, and *union* of the reformed *Catholick Church*, the *unappropriating*, and *unmonopolizing* the rewards of *learning* and *induſtry*, from the greaſie clutch of ignorance, and high feed-

ing. We have tri'd already, & miſerably felt what *ambition worldly glory* & *immoderat wealth* can do, what the boiſtrous & contradictional hand of a temporall, earthly, and corporeall Spiritualty can availe to the edifying of Chriſts holy *Church;* were it ſuch a deſperate hazard to put to the venture the univerſall Votes of *Chriſts* Congregation, the fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious Miniſtery, the Paſtorlike and Apoſtolick imitation of meeke and unlordly Diſcipline, the gentle and benevolent mediocritie of Church-maintenance, without the ignoble Huciſterage of pidling *Tithes?* Were it ſuch an incurable miſchiefe to make a little triall, what all this would doe to the flouriſhing and growing up of *Chriſts* myſticall body? As rather to uſe every poore ſhift, and if that ſerve not, to threaten uproare and combuſtion, and ſhake the brand of Civill Diſcord?

O Sir, I doe now feele my ſelfe inwrapt on the ſodaine into thoſe mazes and *Labyrinths* of dreadfull and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end I know not, unleſſe I turne mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that Eternall and Propitious *Throne*, where nothing is readier then *grace* and *refuge* to the diſtreſſes of mortall Suppliants: and it were a ſhame to leave theſe ſerious thoughts leſſe pioufly then the Heathen were wont to conclude their graver diſcourſes.

Thou therefore that ſits't in light & glory unapprochable, *Parent* of *Angels* and *Men!* next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that loſt remnant whoſe nature thou didſt aſſume, ineffable and everlaſting *Love!* And thou the third ſubſiſtence of Divine Infinitude, *illumining Spirit*, the joy and ſolace of created *Things!* one *Tri-perſonall* GODHEAD! looke upon this thy poore and almoſt

ıt, and expiring *Church*, leave her not thus a
r to theſe importunate *Wolves*, that wait and
ke long till they devoure thy tender *Flock*, theſe
le *Boares* that have broke into thy *Vineyard*, and
the print of thir polluting hoofs on the Soules
hy Servants. O let them not bring about their
ıned *deſignes* that ſtand now at the entrance of
bottomleſſe pit expecting the Watch-word to
ı and let out thoſe dreadfull *Locuſts* and *Scorpions*,
e-involve us in that pitchy *Cloud* of infernall
:nes, where we ſhall never more ſee the *Sunne*
hy *Truth* againe, never hope for the cheerfull
ne, never more heare the *Bird* of *Morning* ſing.
nov'd with pitty at the afflicted ſtate of this our
:en *Monarchy*, that now lies labouring under her
wes, and ſtruggling againſt the grudges of more
ded Calamities.

) thou that after the impetuous rage of five
ıdy Inundations, and the ſucceeding Sword of
ſtine *Warre*, ſoaking the Land in her owne
:, didſt pitty the ſad and ceaſles revolution of
ſwift and thick-comming ſorrowes when wee
ε quite breathleſſe, of thy *free grace* didſt motion
ce, and termes of Cov'nant with us, & having
welnigh freed us from *Antichriſtian* thraldome,
t build up this *Britannick Empire* to a glorious
enviable heighth with all her Daughter Ilands
ıt her, ſtay us in this felicitie, let not the obſti-
r of our halfe Obedience and will-Worſhip bring
ı that *Viper* of *Sedition*, that for theſe Foure-
ε Yeares hath been breeding to eat through the
als of our *Peace*; but let her caſt her Abortive
wne without the danger of this travailling &
bbing *Kingdome*. That we may ſtill remember
ur *ſolemne Thankſgivings*, how for us the *North-Ocean* even to the frozen *Thule* was ſcatter'd
ı the proud Ship-wracks of the *Spaniſh Armado*,

and the very maw of Hell ranſack't, and made to give up her conceal'd deſtruction, ere ſhee could vent it in that horrible and damned blaſt.

O how much more glorious will thoſe former Deliverances appeare, when we ſhall know them not onely to have ſav'd us from greateſt miſeries paſt, but to have reſerv'd us for greateſt happineſſe to come. Hitherto thou haſt but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjuſt and Tyrannous Claime of thy Foes, now unite us intirely, and appropriate us to thy ſelfe, tie us everlaſtingly in willing Homage to the *Prerogative* of thy eternall *Throne.*

And now wee knowe, O thou our moſt certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been conſulting all the Sorceries of the *great Whore*, and have joyn'd their Plots with that ſad Intelligencing Tyrant that miſchiefes the World with his Mines of *Ophir*, and lies thirſting to revenge his Navall ruines that have larded our Seas; but let them all take Counſell together, and let it come to nought, let them Decree, and doe thou Cancell it, let them gather themſelves, and bee ſcatter'd, let them embattell themſelves and bee broken, let them imbattell, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then amidſt the *Hymns*, and *Halleluiahs* of *Saints* ſome one may perhaps bee heard offering at high *ſtrains* in new and lofty *Meaſures* to ſing and celebrate thy *divine Mercies*, and *marvelous Judgements* in this Land throughout all Ages; whereby this great and Warlike Nation inſtructed and inur'd to the fervent and continuall practice of *Truth* and *Righteouſneſſe*, and caſting farre from her the *rags* of her old *vices* may preſſe on hard to that *high* and *happy* emulation to be found the *ſobereſt*, *wiſeſt*, and *moſt Chriſtian People* at that day when thou the Eternall and ſhortly-expected King ſhalt open the Clouds to judge the ſeverall Kingdomes of the

World, and diſtributing *Nationall Honours* and *Rewards* to Religious and juſt *Common-wealths*, ſhalt put an end to all Earthly *Tyrannies*, proclaiming thy univerſal and milde *Monarchy* through Heaven and Earth. Where they undoubtedly that by their *Labours*, *Counſels*, and *Prayers* have been earneſt for the *Common good* of *Religion* and their *Countrey*, ſhall receive, above the inferiour *Orders* of the *Bleſſed*, the *Regall* addition of *Principalities*, *Legions*, and *Thrones* into their glorious Titles, and in ſupereminence of *beatifick Viſion* progreſſing the *dateleſſe* and *irrevoluble* Circle of *Eternity* ſhall claſp inſeparable Hands with *joy*, and *bliſſe* in over meaſure for ever.

But they contrary that by the impairing and diminution of the true *Faith*, the diſtreſſes and ſervitude of their *Countrey* aſpire to high *Dignity*, *Rule* and *Promotion* here, after a ſhamefull end in this *Life* (which *God* grant them) ſhall be thrown downe eternally into the *darkeſt* and *deepeſt Gulfe* of HELL, where under the *deſpightfull controule*, the trample and ſpurne of all the other *Damned*, that in the anguiſh of their *Torture* ſhall have no other eaſe then to exerciſe a *Raving* and *Beſtiall Tyranny* over them as their *Slaves* and *Negro's*, they ſhall remaine in that plight for ever, the *baſeſt*, the *lowermoſt*, the *moſt dejected*, moſt *underfoot* and *downe-trodden Vaſſals* of *Perdition*.

Of Prelaticall Epiſcopacy,

And whether it may be deduc'd from the Apoſtolical times by vertue of thoſe Teſtimonies which are alledg'd to that purpoſe in ſome late Treatiſes: one whereof goes under the Name of James *Archbiſhop of* Armagh.

EPyſcopacy, as it is taken for an Order in the *Church* above a *Preſbyter*, or as wee commonly name him, the Miniſter of a Congregation, is either of Divine conſtitution, or of humane. If onely of humane, we have the ſame humane priviledge, that all men have ever had ſince *Adam*, being borne free, and in the Miſtreſſe Iland of all the *Britiſh*, to retaine this *Epiſcopacy*, or to remove it, conſulting with our owne occaſions, and conveniences, and for the prevention of our owne dangers, and diſquiets, in what beſt manner we can deviſe, without running at a loſſe, as wee muſt needs in thoſe ſtale, and uſeleſſe records of either uncertaine, or unſound antiquity, which if we hold faſt to the grounds of the reformed *Church*, can neither ſkill of us, nor we of it, (ſo oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of *tradition*. If it bee of *Divine* conſtitution, to ſatisfie us fully in that, the Scripture onely is able, it being the onely Book left us of *Divine* authority, not in any thing more Divine then in the all-ſufficiency it hath to furniſh us, as

vith all other ſpirituall knowledge, ſo with this in
articular, ſetting out to us a perfect man of *God*
ccompliſh't to all the good workes of his charge.
Through all which Booke can be no where, either
y plaine Text, or ſolid reaſoning found any differ-
nce betweene a Biſhop, and a Preſbyter, ſave that
hey be two names to ſignify the ſame order. Not-
vithſtanding this clearneſſe, and that by all evidence
f argument, *Timothy*, and *Titus* (whom our Pre-
ates claim to imitate onely in the controuling part
f their office) had rather the vicegerency of an
Apoſtleſhip committed to them, then the ordinary
harge of a Biſhoprick, as being men of an extra-
rdinary calling, yet to verify that which Saint *Paul*
oretold of ſucceeding times,* when men began to
ave itching eares, then not contented with the
lentifull and wholſom fountaines of the Goſpell,
hey began after their owne luſts to heap to them-
elvs teachers, and as if the divine Scripture wanted
ſupplement, and were to be eek't out, they cannot
hink any doubt reſolv'd, and any doctrine confirm'd,
nleſſe they run to that indigeſted heap, and frie of
Authors, which they call Antiquity. Whatſoever
ime, or the heedleſſe hand of blind chance, hath
rawne down from of old to this preſent, in her huge
ragnet, whether Fiſh, or Sea-weed, Shells, or
hrubbs, unpickt, unchoſen, thoſe are the Fathers.
eeing therefore ſome men, deeply converſant in
ookes, have had ſo little care of late to give the
vorld a better account of their reading, then by di-
ulging needleſſe tractats ſtuff't with ſpecious names
f *Ignatius*, and *Polycarpus*, with fragments of old
Martyrologies, and *legends*, to diſtract, and ſtagger
he multitude of credulous readers, & miſlead
hem from their ſtrong guards, and places of ſafety

* 2 Tim. 4.

under the tuition of holy writ, it came into my thoughts to perſwade my ſelfe, ſetting all diſtances, and nice reſpects aſide, that I could do Religion, and my Country no better ſervice for the time then doing my utmoſt endeavour to recall the people of God from this vaine forraging after ſtraw, and to reduce them to their firme ſtations under the ſtandard of the Goſpell: by making appeare to them, firſt the inſufficiency, next the inconvenience, and laſtly the impiety of theſe gay teſtimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this I ſhall not ſtrive to be more exact in Methode, then as their citations lead mee.

Firſt therefore concerning *Ignatius* ſhall be treated fully, when the Author ſhall come to inſiſt upon ſome places in his Epiſtles. Next to prove a ſucceſſion of 27. *Biſhops* from *Timothy*, he cites one *Leontius Biſhop* of *Magneſia*, out of the 11. act of the *Chalcedonian* Councell: this is but an obſcure, and ſingle witneſſe, and for his faithfull dealing who ſhall commend him to us, with this his Catalogue of *Biſhops?* what know wee further of him, but that he might be as factious, and falſe a *Biſhop*, as *Leontius* of *Antioch* that was a hunderd yeares his predeceſſor? for neither the praiſe of his wiſedome, or his vertue hath left him memorable to poſterity, but onely this doubtfull relation, which wee muſt take at his word; and how ſhall this teſtimony receive credit from his word, whoſe very name had ſcarſe been thought on, but for this bare Teſtimony? But they will ſay hee was a member of the Councell, and that may deſerve to gaine him credit with us. I will not ſtand to argue, as yet with faire allowance I might, that wee may as juſtly ſuſpect, there were ſome bad and ſlippery men in that councell, as we know there are wont to be in our Convocations. Nor ſhall I neede to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor

with more ſubtilty brought about, both anciently by other *Heretiks*, and modernly by Papiſts, then to falſifie the Editions of the Councels, of which wee have none but from our Adverſaries hands, whence Canons, Acts, and whole ſpurious Councels are thruſt upon us, and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimat againſt the lawfull rejection of an urgent, and free diſputer, but this I purpoſe not to take advantage of, for what availes it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of Councells, when as we know that many yeares ere this time which was almoſt 500. Years after *Chriſt*, the Councels themſelves were fouly corrupted with ungodly Prelatiſme, and ſo farre plung'd into worldly ambition, as that it ſtood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well-taſted Hierarchy by what faire pretext ſoever they could, in like manner as they had now learnt to defend many other groſſe corruptions by as ancient, and ſuppos'd authentick tradition as Epiſcopacie. And what hope can we have of this whole Councell to warrant us a matter 400. years at leaſt above their time concerning the diſtinction of *Biſhop* and *Preſbyter*, whenas we find them ſuch blind Judges of things before their eyes in their decrees of precedencie between *Biſhop*, and *Biſhop*, acknowledging *Rome* for the Apoſtolick throne, and *Peter* in that See for the rock, the baſis, and the foundation of the Catholick Church, and Faith, contrary to the interpretation of more ancient Fathers; and therfore from a miſtaken text did they give to *Leo* as *Peters* ſucceſſor a kind of preheminence above the whole Councel, as *Euagrius* expreſſes (for now the Pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himſelfe by his Vicars incompetible honours) and yet having thus yeilded to *Rome* the univerſall Primacie for ſpirituall reaſons, as they thought, they conclude their ſitting with a carnall, and ambitious decree to give the ſecond place of

dignity to *Conſtantinople* from reaſon of State, becauſe it was new *ROME*, and by like conſequence doubtleſſe of earthly priviledges annext to each other City, was the BISHOP therof to take his place.

I may ſay againe therfore, what hope can we have of ſuch a Councell, as beginning in the Spirit, ended thus in the fleſh. Much rather ſhould we attend to what *Euſebius* the ancienteſt writer extant of Church-hiſtory, notwithſtanding all the helps he had above theſe, confeſſes in the 4. chap. of his 3. Book, that it was no eaſie matter to tell who were thoſe that were left Biſhops of the Churches by the Apoſtles, more then by what a man might gather from the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, in which number he reckons *Timothy* for Biſhop of *Epheſus*. So as may plainly appeare, that this tradition of Biſhoping *Timothy* over *Epheſus* was but taken for granted out of that place in St. *Paul*, which was only an intreating him to tarry at *Epheſus*, to do ſomthing left him in charge.* Now if *Euſebius* a famous writer thought it ſo difficult to tell who were appointed Biſhops by the Apoſtles, much more may we think it difficult to *Leontius* an obſcure Biſhop ſpeaking beyond his own Dioceſſe: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of Biſhops thoſe were, if they had ſo little means to know who they were; and much leſſe reaſon have we to ſtand to their definitive ſentence, ſeeing they have bin ſo raſh to raiſe up ſuch lofty Biſhops and Biſhopricks out of places in Scripture meerly miſunderſtood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gadde after theſe traditions of the ancients, we heare the ancients themſelvs confeſſing, that what knowledge they had in this point was ſuch as they had gather'd from the Bible.

* 1 Tim. 1. 3.

therfore Antiquity it ſelfe hath turn'd over
:roverſie to that ſovran Book which we had
traggl'd from, we ſhall doe better not to de-
; venerable apparition of *Leontius* any longer,
niſſe him with his Liſt of ſeven and twenty,
unmoleſted in his former obſcurity.

for the word προεστὼς, it is more likely that
never knew the word in that ſenſe: it was
ity of thoſe next ſucceeding times not to con-
emſelves with the ſimplicity of Scripture-
but muſt make a new Lexicon to name them-
y, one will be call'd προεστὼς, or *Antiſtes*, a
ſf precedence, another would be term'd a
:k, as *Clemens*, a third Sacerdos, or Prieſt, and
Altars; which was a plaine ſigne that their
e began to change, for which they muſt change
xpreſſions: But that place of *Juſtin Martyr*
ather to convince the Author, then to make
n, where the name προεστὼς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, the
nt, or Paſtor of the Brethren (for to what end
ıeir Preſident but to teach them) cannot be
to ſignifie a Prelaticall Biſhop, but rather com-
ıtes that Greek appellation to every ordinary
er: for there he tells what the Chriſtians had
o doe in their ſeverall Congregations, to read,
pound, to pray and adminiſter, all which he
ıe προεστὼς, or *Antiſtes* did. Are theſe the
only of a Biſhop, or ſhall we think that every
egation where theſe things were done, which
ibutes to this *Antiſtes*, had a *Biſhop* preſent
them? unleſſe they had as many *Antiſtites* as
ters, which this place rather ſeems to imply,
we may inferre even from their own alledg'd au-
, *that Antiſtes was nothing elſe but Preſbyter.*

or that nameleſſe Treatiſe of *Timothy*'s martyr-
only cited by *Photius* that liv'd almoſt 900.
after *Chriſt*, it hanſomely follows in that author,

the Martyrdome of the ſeven Sleepers, that ſlept (I tell you but what mine Author ſayes) three hundred ſeaventy, and two years, for ſo long they had bin ſhut up in a Cave without meat, and were found living. This Story of *Timothy's* Epheſian Biſhopricke, as it follows in order, ſo may it for truth, if it only ſubſiſt upon its own authority, as it doth, for *Photius* only ſaith he read it; he does not averre it. That other legendarie piece found among the lives of the Saints, and ſent us from the ſhop of the Jeſuites at *Lovain*,* does but bear the name of *Polycrates*, how truly who can tell? and ſhall have ſome more weight with us, when *Polycrates* can perſwade us of that which he affirms in the ſame place of *Euſebius* 5. Book, that St. *John* was a Prieſt, and wore the golden breſtplate: and why ſhould he convince us more with his traditions of *Timothy's* Epiſcopacie, then he could convince *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* with his traditions concerning the Feaſt of Eaſter, who not regarding his irrefragable inſtances of examples taken from *Philip*, and his daughters that were Propheteſſes; or from *Polycarpus*, no nor from St. *John* himſelfe, Excommunicated both him, and all the Aſian Churches for celebrating their Eaſter judaically: he may therfore goe back to the ſeaven Biſhops his kinſmen, and make his moane to them that we eſteem his traditionall ware, as lightly as *Victor* did.

Thoſe of *Theodoret*, *Felix*, and *John* of *Antioch* are autorities of later times, and therfore not to be receiv'd for their Antiquities ſake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherin writers ſo much their Elders, we ſee ſo eaſily miſcarry. What if they had told us that *Peter*, who as they ſay left *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, went afterwards to *Rome*, and was Biſhop there, as this *Ignatius*, and *Irenæus*,

* *Euſeb.* l. 6. *ofxe.*

and all Antiquity with one mouth deliver, there be never the leſſe a number of learned, and wiſe Proteſtants who have written, and will maintain, that *Peters* being at *Rome* as Biſhop cannot ſtand with concordance of Scripture.

Now come the Epiſtles of *Ignatius* to ſhew us firſt, that *Oneſimus* was Biſhop of *Epheſus;* next to aſſert the difference of *Biſhop* and *Preſbyter*, wherin I wonder that men teachers of the Proteſtant Religion, make no more difficulty of impoſing upon our belief a ſuppoſititious ofspring of ſome dozen Epiſtles, whereof five are rejected as ſpurious, containing in them Hereſies and trifles, which cannot agree in Chronologie with *Ignatius*, entitling him Arch-Biſhop of *Antioch Theopolis*, which name of *Theopolis* that City had not till *Juſtinians* time long after, as *Cedrenus* mentions, which argues both the barbarous time, and the unſkilfull fraud of him that foiſted this Epiſtle upon *Ignatius*. In the Epiſtle to thoſe of *Tarſus* he condemns them for Miniſters of Satan, that ſay *Chriſt is God above all.* To the *Phillippians* them that kept their Eaſter, as the *Aſian* Churches, and *Polycarpus* did, and them that faſted upon any Saturday, or Sunday, except one he counts as thoſe that had ſlain the *Lord.* To thoſe of *Antioch* he ſalutes the Sub-Deacons, Chaunters, Porters, and Exorciſts, as if theſe had bin Orders of the Church in his time: thoſe other Epiſtles leſſe queſtion'd are yet ſo interlarded with Corruptions, as may juſtly indue us with a wholſome ſuſpition of the reſt. As to the *Trallians* he writes that *a Biſhop hath power over all beyond all goverment, and autority whatſoever.* Surely then no Pope can deſire more then *Ignatius* attributes to every Biſhop, but what will become then of the Archbiſhops and Primates if every Biſhop in *Ignatius* judgement be as ſupreme as a Pope? To the *Epheſians*, near the very place from whence they

fetch their proof for Epiſcopacy, there ſtands a line that caſts an ill hue upon all the Epiſtle, *Let no man erre*, ſaith he, unleſſe a man be within the rayls, or encloſure of the Altar, he is depriv'd of the bread of life. I ſay not but this may be ſtretch'd to a figurative conſtruction, but yet it has an ill look, eſpecially being follow'd beneath with the mention of I know not what ſacrifices. In the other Epiſtle to *Smyrna* wherein is written that they ſhould follow their Biſhop as *Chriſt* did his Father, and the *Preſbytery* as the *Apoſtles:* not to ſpeak of the inſulſe, and ill-layd compariſon, this cited place lyes upon the very brimme of a noted corruption, which had they, that quote this paſſage, ventur'd to let us read, all men would have readily ſeen what grain the teſtimony had bin of, where it is ſaid, that it is not lawfull without a Biſhop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to doe ſacrifice. What can our Church make of theſe phraſes but ſcandalous: and but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of *God* in *Salomon*, Judge by the words themſelvs. *My Son*, ſaith he, honour *God* & the King; but I ſay, honour *God* and the Biſhop as High-prieſt, bearing the image of *God* according to his ruling, and of *Chriſt*, according to his Prieſting, and after him honour the King. Excellent *Ignatius!* can ye blame the *Prelates* for making much of this Epiſtle? Certainly if this Epiſtle can ſerve you to ſet a Biſhop above a *Preſbyter*, it may ſerve you next to ſet him above a King. Theſe, and other like places in abundance through all thoſe ſhort Epiſtles muſt either be adulterat, or elſe *Ignatius* was not *Ignatius*, nor a Martyr, but moſt adulterate, and corrupt himſelfe. In the midſt therfore of ſo many forgeries where ſhall we fixe to dare ſay this is *Ignatius?* As for his ſtile who knows it? ſo disfigur'd and interrupted as it is, except they think that where they meet with any thing ſound, and ortho-

.l, there they find *Ignatius*, and then they beleeve not for his own authority, but for a truths ſake, :h they derive from els where: to what end then ld they cite him as authentick for Epiſcopacie, n they cannot know what is authentick in him, ›y the judgement which they brought with them, not by any *judgement* which they might ſafely ıe from him. How can they bring ſatisfaction ı ſuch an Author, to whoſe very eſſence the ler muſt be fain to contribute his own underling? Had *God* ever intended that we ſhould ſought any part of uſefull inſtruction from *Ig-s*, doubtles he would not have ſo ill provided ur knowledge, as to ſend him to our hands in ›roken and disjoynted plight; and if he intended ıch thing, we doe injurioufly in thinking to taſt r the pure Euangelick Manna by ſeaſoning our ths with the tainted ſcraps, and fragments of an own table; and ſearching among the verminous, ›olluted rags dropt overworn from the toyling lders of Time, with theſe deformedly to quilt, nterlace the intire, the ſpotleſſe, and undecaying of Truth, the daughter not of Time, but of ren, only bred up heer below in Chriſtian hearts, een two grave and holy nurſes the Doctrine, Diſcipline of the Goſpel.

ext follows *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lions*, who is cited firm *that Polycarpus was made Biſhop of Smyrna e Apoſtles:* and this it may ſeem, none could r tell then he who had both ſeen and heard *Poly-ıs:* but when did he heare him? himſelfe con-to *Florinus*, when he was a Boy. Whether age in *Irenæus* may not be liable to many miſ-gs; and whether a Boy may be truſted to take :act account of the manner of a Church Conſti-n, and upon what terms, and within what limits, with what kind of Commiſſion *Polycarpus* re-

ceiv'd his charge, let a man conſider, ere he be credulous. It will not be deny'd that he might have ſeen *Polycarpus* in his youth a man of great eminence in the Church, to whom the other *Preſbyters* might give way for his *vertue*, *wiſdome*, and the reverence of his age; and ſo did *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome*, even in his own City, give him a kind of priority in adminiſtring the Sacrament; as may be read in *Euſebius:* but that we ſhould hence conclude a diſtinct, and ſuperior order from the young obſervation of *Irenæus*, nothing yet alledg'd can warrant us, unleſſe we ſhall beleeve ſuch as would face us down, that *Calvin*, and after him *Beza* were Biſhops of *Geneva*, becauſe that in the unſetl'd ſtate of the Church, while things were not fully compos'd, their worth, and learning caſt a greater ſhare of buſineſſe upon them, and directed mens eyes principally towards them, and yet theſe men were the diſſolvers of Epiſcopacie. We ſee the ſame neceſſity in ſtate affaires *Brutus* that expell'd the Kings out of *Rome*, was for the time forc't to be as it were a King himſelf, till matters were ſet in order, as in a free Commonwealth. He that had ſeen *Pericles* lead the Athenians which way he liſted, haply would have ſaid he had bin their Prince, and yet he was but a powerfull and eloquent man in a Democratie, and had no more at any time than a Temporary, and elective ſway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is moſt likely that in the Church they which came after theſe Apoſtolick men being leſſe in merit, but bigger in ambition, ſtrove to invade thoſe priviledges by intruſion and plea of right, which *Polycarpus*, and others like him poſſeſt from the voluntary ſurrender of men ſubdu'd by the excellencie of their heavenly gifts, which becauſe their Succeſſors had not, and ſo could neither have that autority, it was their policy to divulge that

the eminence which *Polycarpus* and his equalls enjoy'd, was by right of conſtitution, not by free wil of condiſcending. And yet thus farre *Irenæus* makes againſt them as in that very place to call *Polycarpus* an Apoſtolicall *Preſbyter*. But what fidelity his relations had in generall, we cannot ſooner learn then by *Euſebius*, who neer the end of his third Book, ſpeaking of *Papias* a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. *Iohn*, and was known to many that had ſeen, and bin acquainted with others of the Apoſtles, but being of a ſhallow wit, and not underſtanding thoſe traditions which he receiv'd, fill'd his writings with many new doctrines, and fabulous conceits, he tells us there, that divers Eccleſiaſticall men, and *Irenæus* among the reſt, while they lookt at his antiquity, became infected with his errors. Now if *Irenæus* were ſo raſh as to take unexamin'd opinions from an Author of ſo ſmall capacity, when he was a man, we ſhould be more raſh our ſelves to rely upon thoſe obſervations which he made when he was a Boy. And this may be a ſufficient reaſon to us why we need no longer muſe at the ſpreading of many idle traditions ſo ſoon after the Apoſtles, whilſt ſuch as this *Papias* had the throwing them about, and the inconſiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the perſon, then the Doctrine, had the gathering them up. Where ever a man, who had bin any way converſant with the *Apoſtles*, was to be found, thether flew all the inquiſitive eares, the exerciſe of right inſtructing was chang'd into the curioſity of impertinent fabling: where the mind was to be edified with ſolid *Doctrine*, there the fancy was ſooth'd with ſolemne ſtories: with leſſe fervency was ſtudied what Saint *Paul*, or Saint *Iohn* had written then was liſten'd to one that could ſay here hee taught, here he ſtood, this was his ſtature, and thus he went habited, and O happy this houſe

that harbour'd him, and that cold ſtone whereon he reſted, this Village wherein he wrought ſuch a miracle, and that pavement bedew'd with the warme effuſion of his laſt blood, that ſprouted up into eternall Roſes to crowne his Martyrdome. Thus while all their thoughts were powr'd out upon circumſtances, and the gazing after ſuch men as had ſate at table with the *Apoſtles* (many of which *Chriſt* hath profeſt, yea though they had caſt out Divells in his name, he will not know at the laſt day) by this meanes they loſt their time, and truanted in the fundamentall grounds of ſaving knowledge, as was ſeene ſhortly by their writings. Laſtly for *Irenæus*, wee have cauſe to thinke him leſſe judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the *Apoſtles* did, when we find him ſo negligent in keeping the *faith* which they writ, as to ſay in his third Booke againſt Hereſies, that the obedience of *Mary* was the cauſe of ſalvation to her ſelfe, and all mankind, and in his fift Booke, that as *Eve* was ſeduc't to fly *God*, ſo the Virgin *Mary* was perſwaded to obey *God*, that the Virgin *Mary* might be made the Advocate of the Virgin *Eve*. Thus if *Irenæus* for his neereneſſe to the *Apoſtles*, muſt be the Patron of *Epiſcopacy* to us, it is no marvell though he be the Patron of Idolatry to the Papiſt, for the ſame cauſe. To the Epiſtle of thoſe brethren of *Smyrna*, that write the Martyrdome of *Polycarpus*, and ſtile him an Apoſtolicall, and propheticall Doctor, and Biſhop of the Church in *Smirna*, I could be content to give ſome credit for the great honour, and affection which I ſee thoſe brethren beare him, and not undeſervedly if it be true which they there ſay that he was a Prophet, and had a voyce from Heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could heare, but the reſt could not for the noiſe, and tumult that was in the place, and beſides if his body were ſo pretious to the Chriſtians, that

hee was never wont to pull off his ſhooes for one or other that ſtill ſtrove to have the office, that they might come to touch his feet, yet a light ſcruple or two I would gladly be reſolv'd in; if *Polycarpus* (who, as they ſay, was a *Prophet* that never faild in what he foretold) had declar'd to his friends, that he knew by viſion, hee ſhould die no other death then burning, how it came to paſſe that the fire when it came to proofe, would not doe his worke, but ſtarting off like a full ſaile from the maſt, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbes exhaling ſuch a ſweet odour, as if all the incenſe of *Arabia* had bin burning, in ſo much that when the bill-men ſaw that the fire was overaw'd, and could not doe the deed, one of them ſteps to him, and ſtabs him with a ſword, at which wound ſuch abundance of bloud guſht forth as quencht the fire. By all this relation it appeares not, how the fire was guilty of his death, and then how can his prophesie bee fulfill'd? Next how the ſtanders by could be ſo ſoone weary of ſuch a glorious ſight, and ſuch a fragrant ſmell, as to haſten the executioner to put out the fire with the Martyrs blood, unleſſe perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the Smoake would bee more odorous then the flame? Yet theſe good brethren ſay he was Biſhop of *Smyrna*. No man queſtions it, if Biſhop, and *Preſbyter* were anciently all one, and how does it appeare by any thing in this teſtimony that they were not? If among his other high titles of propheticall, Apoſtolicall, and moſt admired of thoſe times, he bee alſo ſtil'd Biſhop of the Church of *Smirna* in a kind of ſpeech, which the Rhetoricians call κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for his excellence ſake, as being the moſt famous of all the *Smyrnian Preſbyters*, it cannot bee prov'd neither from this nor that other place of *Irenæus*, that hee was therefore in diſtinct, and monarchicall order above the other *Preſbyters*, it is

more probable, that if the whole *Preſbytery* had beene as renowned as he, they would have term'd every one of them ſeverally Biſhop of *Smyrna*. Hence it is that wee read ſometimes of two Biſhops in one place, and had all the *Preſbyters* there beene of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian accoſts us next (for *Polycrates* hath had his anſwer) whoſe teſtimony, ſtate but the queſtion right, is of no more force to deduce *Epiſcopacy*, then the two former. He ſaies that the Church of *Smirna* had *Polycarpus* plac't there by *Iohn*, and the Church of *Rome Clement* ordain'd by *Peter*, and ſo the reſt of the Churches did ſhew, what Biſhops they had receiv'd by the appointment of the *Apoſtles*. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the Scripture that Biſhops or *Preſbyters*, which were the ſame, were left by the *Apoſtles* in every Church, and they might perhaps give ſome ſpeciall charge to *Clement*, or *Polycarpus*, or *Linus*, and put ſome ſpeciall truſt in them for the experience they had of their faith, and conſtancy; it remaines yet to be evinc't out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word Biſhop is otherwiſe taken, then in the language of Saint *Paul*, and the *Acts*, for an order above *Preſbyters*. We grant them Biſhops, we grant them worthy men, we grant them plac't in ſeverall Churches by the *Apoſtles*, we grant that *Irenæus*, and *Tertul:* affirme this, but that they were plac't in a ſuperiour Order above the *Preſbytery*, ſhew from all theſe words why we ſhould grant. 'Tis not enough to ſay the *Ap:* left this man Biſhop in *Rome*, and that other in *Epheſus*, but to ſhew when they alterd their owne decree ſet downe by St. *Paul*, and made all the *Preſbyters* underlings to one Biſhop. But ſuppoſe *Tertullian* had made an imparity where none was originally,

ſhould hee move us, that goes about to prove an imparity betweene *God* the Father, and *God* the Sonne, as theſe words import in his Booke againſt *Praxeas*. The Father is the whole ſubſtance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himſelfe profeſſes becauſe the Father is greater then me. Beleeve him now for a faithfull relater of tradition, whom you ſee ſuch an unfaithfull expounder of the Scripture, beſides in his time all allowable tradition was now loſt. For this ſame Author whom you bring to teſtifie the ordination of *Clement* to the Biſhoprick of *Rome* by *Peter*, teſtifies alſo in the beginning of his treatiſe concerning Chaſtity, that the Biſhop of Rome did then uſe to ſend forth his edicts by the name of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Epiſcopus Epiſcoporum* chief Prieſt, and Biſhop of Biſhops. For ſhame then doe not urge that authority to keepe up a Biſhop, that will neceſſarily ingage you to ſet up a *Pope*. As little can your advantage bee from *Hegeſippus* an Hiſtorian of the ſame time not extant, but cited by *Euſebius*, his words are, that in every City all things ſo ſtood in his time as the Law, and the *Prophets*, and our Lord did preach. If they ſtood ſo, then ſtood not Biſhops above *Preſbyters*, for what our Lord, and his Diſciples taught, *God* be thanked, we have no need to goe learne of him: and you may as well hope to perſwade us out of the ſame Author, that *James* the brother of our Lord was a *Nazarite*, and that to him only it was lawfull to enter into the holy of Holies, that his food was not upon any thing that had life, fiſh, or fleſh, that he us'd no wollen garments, but onely linnen, and ſo as he trifles on.

If therefore the tradition of the Church were now grown ſo ridiculous, and diſconſenting from the Doctrine of the *Apoſtles*, even in thoſe points which were of leſt moment to mens particular ends, how

well may we be aſſur'd it was much more degenerated in point of *Epiſcopacy*, and precedency, things which could afford ſuch plauſible pretenſes, ſuch commodious traverſes for ambition, and Avarice to lvrke behind.

As for thoſe *Brittaine* Biſhops which you cite, take heed what you doe, for our *Brittaine* Biſhops leſſe ancient then theſe, were remarkable for nothing more then their poverty, as *Sulp. Severus*, and *Beda* can remember you of examples good ſtore.

Laſtly (for the fabulous *Metaphraſtes* is not worth an anſwer) that authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is not to be found in all his workes, and wherever it be extant, it is in controverſie, whether it be *Clements* or no; or if it were it ſayes onely that Saint *Iohn* in ſome places conſtituted Biſhops: queſtionleſſe he did, but where does *Clement* ſay he ſet them above *Preſbyters?* no man will gaineſay the conſtitution of *Biſhops*, but the raiſing them to a ſuperiour, and diſtinct order above *Preſbyters*, ſeeing the Goſpell makes them one and the ſame thing, a thouſand ſuch allegations as theſe will not give Prelaticall *Epiſcopacy*, one Chapell of eaſe above a Pariſh Church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot ſay rather then petty-fog of witneſſes, with which Epiſcopall men would caſt a miſt before us, to deduce their exalted *Epiſcopacy* from Apoſtolick times. Now although, as all men well know, it be the wonted ſhift of errour, and fond Opinion, when they find themſelves outlaw'd by the Bible, and forſaken of ſound reaſon, to betake them with all ſpeed to their old ſtarting hole of tradition, and that wild, and overgrowne Covert of antiquity thinking to farme there at large roome, and find good ſtabling, yet thus much their owne deify'de antiquity betrayes them, to informe us that Tradition hath had very ſeldome or never the gift of perſwaſion; as that which Church Hiſ-

tories report of thoſe *Eaſt*, and *Weſtern Paſchaliſts* formerly ſpoken of will declare, who would have thought that *Polycarpus* on the one ſide could have err'd in what he ſaw Saint *Iohn* doe, or *Anicetus* Biſhop of *Rome* on the other ſide, in what he or ſome of his friends might pretend to have ſeene Saint *Peter*, or Saint *Paul* doe, and yet neither of theſe could perſwade either when to keepe Eaſter; The like frivolous contention troubled the Primitive Engliſh Churches, while *Colmanus*, and *Wilfride* on either ſide deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of Saint *Iohn*, and the learned Biſhop *Anatolius*, and laſtly the miraculous *Columba*: the other from Saint *Peter*, and the *Nicene* Councell could gaine no ground each of other till King *Oſwy* perceiving no likelihood of ending the Controverſie that way, was faine to decide it himſelfe good King, with that ſmall knowledge, wherewith thoſe times had furniſht him. So when thoſe pious Greek *Emperours* began, as *Cedrenus* relates, to put downe Monks, and aboliſh Images, the old Idolaters finding themſelves blaſted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the Scripture, ſent out their ſturdy *Monks* call'd the *Abramites*, to alledge for images the ancient Fathers *Dionyſius*, and this our objected *Irenæus*, nay they were ſo high flowne in their antiquity, that they undertooke to bring the *Apoſtles*, and *Luke* the *Evangeliſt*, yea *Chriſt* himſelfe, from certaine records that were then current, to patronize their Idolatry, yet for all this the worthy Emperour *Theophilus*, even in thoſe darke times choſe rather to nouriſh himſelfe, and his people with the ſincere milke of the Goſpell, then to drinke from the mixt confluence of ſo many corrupt, and poyſonous waters, as tradition would have perſwaded him to by moſt ancient ſeeming authorities: In like manner all the reformed Churches abroad, unthroning *Epiſ-*

copacy doubtleſſe were not ignorant of theſe teſtimonies alledg'd to draw it in a line from the *Apoſtles* dayes, for ſurely the Author will not thinke he hath brought us now any new authorities, or conſiderations into the world, which the Reformers in other places were not advis'd of, and yet we ſee, the interceſſion of all theſe Apoſtolick Fathers could not prevaile with them to alter their reſolved decree of reducing into Order their uſurping, and over provender'd *Epiſcopants:* and *God* hath bleſt their worke this hunder'd yeares, with a proſperous and ſtedfaſt, and ſtill happy ſucceſſe. And this may ſerve to prove the inſufficiency of theſe preſent *Epiſcopall* Teſtimonies not only in themſelves, but in the account of thoſe ever that have beene the followers of truth. It will next behoove us to conſider the inconvenience we fall into, by uſing our ſelves to bee guided by theſe kind of Teſtimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well learned man, to have read diligently the ancient ſtories of the Church, and to be no ſtranger in the volumes of the Fathers ſhall have all judicious men conſenting with him; not hereby to controule, and new fangle the Scripture, *God* forbid, but to marke how corruption, and *Apoſtacy* crept in by degrees, and to gather up, where ever wee find the remaining ſparks of Originall truth, wherewith to ſtop the mouthes of our adverſaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly paſſe by that which is Orthodoxall in them, and ſtudiouſly cull out that which is commentitious, and beſt for their turnes, not weighing the Fathers in the ballance of Scripture, but Scripture in the ballance of the Fathers, if wee therefore making firſt the Goſpell our rule, and Oracle ſhall take the good which wee light on in the Fathers, and ſet it to oppoſe the evill which other men ſeek from them, in this way of Skirmiſh

wee ſhall eaſily maſter all ſuperſtition, and falſe doctrine; but if we turne this our diſcreet, and wary uſage of them into a blind devotion towards them, and whatſoever we find written by them, wee both forſake our owne grounds, and reaſons which led us at firſt to part from *Rome*, that is to hold to the Scriptures againſt all antiquity; wee remove our cauſe into our adverſaries owne Court, and take up there thoſe caſt principles which will ſoone cauſe us to ſoder up with them againe, in as much as beleeving antiquity for it ſelf in any one point, we bring an ingagement upon our ſelves of aſſenting to all that it charges upon us. For ſuppoſe we ſhould now neglecting that which is cleare in Scripture, that a Biſhop and *Preſbyter* is all one both in name, and office, and that what was done by *Timothy*, and *Titus* executing an extraordinary place, as fellow labourers with the *Apoſtles*, and of a univerſall charge in planting Chriſtianity through divers regions, cannot be drawne into particular, and dayly example, ſuppoſe that neglecting this cleereneſſe of the text, we ſhould by the uncertaine, and corrupted writings of ſucceeding times, determine that Biſhop and *Preſbyter* are different, becauſe we dare not deny what *Ignatius* or rather the *Perkin Warbeck* of *Ignatius* ſayes, then muſt we bee conſtrain'd to take upon our ſelves a thouſand ſuperſtitions, and falſities which the Papiſt will prove us downe in from as good authorities, and as ancient, as theſe that ſet a Biſhop above a *Preſbyter*. And the plaine truth is that when any of our men of thoſe that are wedded to antiquity come to diſpute with a Papiſt, and leaving the Scriptures put themſelves without appeale to the ſentence of *Synods*, and Councells, uſing in the cauſe of *Sion* the hir'd ſouldjery of revolted *Iſrael*, where they give the *Romaniſt* one buffe, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore

but in this regard, every true Biſhop ſhould be afraid to conquer in his cauſe by ſuch authorities as theſe, which if we admit for the authorities ſake, we open a broad paſſage for a multitude of Doctrines that have no ground in Scripture, to break in upon us.

Laſtly I doe not know, it being undeniable that there are but two Eccleſiaſticall Orders, Biſhops, and Deacons mention'd in the *Goſpell*, how it can be leſſe then impiety to make a demurre at that, which is there ſo perſpicuous, confronting, and parallelling the ſacred verity of Saint *Paul* with the offalls, and ſweepings of antiquity that met as accidentally and abſurdly, as *Epicurus* his atoms to patch up a Leucippean *Ignatius*, enclining rather to make this phantaſme an expounder, or indeed a depraver of Saint *Paul*, then Saint *Paul* an examiner, and diſcoverer of this impoſtorſhip, nor caring how ſlightly they put off the verdit of holy Text unſalv'd, that ſayes plainely there bee but two orders, ſo they maintaine the reputation of their imaginary Doctor that proclaimes three: certainly if *Chriſts* Apoſtle have ſet downe but two, then according to his owne words, though hee himſelfe ſhould unſay it, and not onely the Angell of *Smyrna*, but an Angell from Heaven ſhould beare us downe that there bee three, Saint *Paul* has doom'd him twiſe, let him be accur'ſt, for *Chriſt* hath pronounc't that no tittle of his word ſhall fall to the ground, and if one jot be alterable it is as poſſible that all ſhould periſh; And this ſhall bee our *righteouſnes*, our ample warrant, and ſtrong aſſurance both now, and at the laſt day never to be aſham'd of, againſt all the heaped names of Angells, and Martyrs, Councells, and Fathers urg'd upon us, if we have given our ſelves up to be taught by the pure, and living precept of *Gods* word onely, which without

more additions, nay with a forbidding of them hath within it ſelfe the promiſe of eternall life, the end of all our weariſome labours, and all our ſuſtaining hopes. But if any ſhall ſtrive to ſet up his *Ephod*, and *Teraphim* of Antiquity againſt the brightneſſe, and perfection of the *Goſpell*, let him feare leſt he and his *Baal* be turn'd into *Boſheth*. And thus much may ſuffice to ſhew that the pretended *Epiſcopacy* cannot be deduc't from the *Apoſtolicall* TIMES.

The Reaſon of Church-government urg'd againſt PRELATY.

IN TWO BOOKS.

THE PREFACE.

IN the publiſhing of humane lawes, which for the moſt part aime not beyond the good of civill ſociety, to ſet them barely forth to the people without reaſon or Preface, like a phyſicall preſcript, or only with threatnings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgement of *Plato* was thought to be done neither generouſly nor wiſely. His advice was, ſeeing that perſuaſion certainly is a more winning, and more manlike way to keepe men in obedience then feare, that to ſuch lawes as were of principall moment, there ſhould be us'd as an induction, ſome well temper'd diſcourſe, ſhewing how good, how gainfull, how happy it muſt needs be to live according to honeſty and juſtice, which being utter'd with thoſe native colours and graces of ſpeech, as true eloquence the daughter of vertue can beſt beſtow upon her mothers praiſes, would ſo incite, and in a manner, charme the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to imbrace it ever after, not of cuſtome and awe, which moſt men do, but of choice and purpoſe,

ith true and conſtant delight. But this practice
e may learn, from a better and more ancient autho-
ty, then any heathen writer hath to give us, and
deed being a point of ſo high wiſdome and worth,
ow could it be but we ſhould find it in that book
ithin whoſe ſacred context all wiſdome is infolded?
oſes therefore the only Lawgiver that we can be-
eve to have beene viſibly taught of God, knowing
ow vaine it was to write lawes to men whoſe
earts were not firſt ſeaſon'd with the knowledge of
od and of his workes, began from the book of
enesis, as a prologue to his lawes; which *Joſephus*
ght well hath noted. That the nation of the
ewes, reading therein the univerſall goodneſſe of
od to all creatures in the Creation, and his pecu-
ar favour to them in his election of *Abraham* their
nceſtor, from whom they could derive ſo many
leſſings upon themſelves, might be mov'd to obey
ncerely by knowing ſo good a reaſon of their obe-
ience. If then in the adminiſtration of civill juſtice,
nd under the obſcurity of Ceremoniall rites, ſuch
are was had by the wiſeſt of the heathen, and by
oſes among the Jewes, to inſtruct them at leaſt in
generall reaſon of that government to which their
ubjection was requir'd, how much more ought the
embers of the Church under the Goſpell ſeeke to
nforme their underſtanding in the reaſon of that
overnment which the Church claimes to have over
em: eſpecially for that the Church hath in her
nmediate cure thoſe inner parts and affections of
e mind where the ſeat of reaſon is; having power
examine our ſpirituall knowledge, and to demand
om us in Gods behalfe a ſervice intirely reaſonable.
ut becauſe about the manner and order of this
overnment, whether it ought to be Preſbyteriall, or
relaticall, ſuch endleſſe queſtion, or rather uproare
ariſen in this land, as may be juſtly term'd, what

the feaver is to the Phyſitians, the eternall reproach of our Divines; whileſt other profound Clerks of late greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of Prelaty, are ſo earneſtly meting out the Lydian proconſular Aſia, to make good the prime metropolis of Epheſus, as if ſome of our Prelates in all haſte meant to change their ſoile, and become neighbours to the Engliſh Biſhop of Chalcedon; and whileſt good *Breerwood* as buſily beſtirres himſelfe in our vulgar tongue to divide preciſely the three Patriarchats, of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and whether to any of theſe England doth belong, I ſhall in the meane while not ceaſe to hope through the mercy and grace of Chriſt, the head and huſband of his Church, that England ſhortly is to belong, neither to See Patriarchall, nor See Prelaticall, but to the faithfull feeding and diſciplining of that miniſteriall order, which the bleſſed Apoſtles conſtituted throughout the Churches: and this I ſhall aſſay to prove can be no other, then that of Preſbyters and Deacons. And if any man incline to thinke I undertake a taſke too difficult for my yeares, I truſt through the ſupreme inlightning aſſiſtance farre otherwiſe; for my yeares, be they few or many, what imports it? ſo they bring reaſon, let that be lookt on: and for the taſk, from hence that the queſtion in hand is ſo needfull to be known at this time chiefly by every meaner capacity, and containes in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reacht out to us by the Goſpell, I conclude the taſk muſt be eaſie. God having to this end ordain'd his Goſpell to be the revelation of his power and wiſdome in Chriſt Jeſus. And this is one depth of his wiſdome, that he could ſo plainly reveale ſo great a meaſure of it to the groſſe diſtorted apprehenſion of decay'd mankinde. Let others therefore dread and ſhun the Scriptures for their darkneſſe, I ſhall wiſh

I may deſerve to be reckon'd among thoſe who admire and dwell upon them for their clearneſſe. And this ſeemes to be the cauſe why in thoſe places of holy writ, wherein is treated of Church-government, the reaſons thereof are not formally, and profeſtly ſet downe, becauſe to him that heeds attentively the drift and ſcope of Chriſtian profeſſion, they eaſily imply themſelves, which thing further to explane, having now prefac'd enough, I ſhall no longer deferre.

CHAP. I.

That Church-governement is preſcrib'd in the Goſpell, and that to ſay otherwiſe is unſound.

THe firſt and greateſt reaſon of Church-government, we may ſecurely with the aſſent of many on the adverſe part, affirme to be, becauſe we finde it ſo ordain'd and ſet out to us by the appointment of God in the Scriptures; but whether this be Preſbyteriall, or Prelaticall, it cannot be brought to the ſcanning, untill I have ſaid what is meet to ſome who do not think it for the eaſe of their inconſequent opinions, to grant that Church diſcipline is platform'd in the Bible, but that it is left to the diſcretion of men. To this conceit of theirs I anſwer, that it is both unſound and untrue. For there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, then is diſcipline. What need I inſtance? He that hath read with judgement, of Nations and Common-wealths, of Cities and Camps of peace and warre, ſea and land, will readily agree that the flouriſhing and decaying of all civill ſocieties, all the moments and turnings of humane occaſions are mov'd to and fro as upon the

axle of diſcipline. So that whatſoever power or ſway in mortall things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durſt with more confidence (the honour of divine providence ever ſav'd) aſcribe either to the vigor, or the ſlackneſſe of diſcipline. Nor is there any ſociable perfection in this life civill or ſacred that can be above diſcipline, but ſhe is that which with her muſicall cords preſerves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in thoſe perfect armies of *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, and *Scipio* in the Roman ſtories, the excellence of military ſkill was eſteem'd, not by the not needing, but by the readieſt ſubmitting to the edicts of their commander. And certainly diſcipline is not only the removall of diſorder, but if any viſible ſhape can be given to divine things, the very viſible ſhape and image of vertue, whereby ſhe is not only ſeene in the regular geſtures and motions of her heavenly paces as ſhe walkes, but alſo makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortall eares. Yea the Angels themſelves, in whom no diſorder is fear'd, as the Apoſtle that ſaw them in his rapture deſcribes, are diſtinguiſht and quaterniond into their celeſtiall Princedomes, and Satrapies, according as God himſelfe hath writ his imperiall decrees through the great provinces of heav'n. The ſtate alſo of the bleſſed in Paradiſe, though never ſo perfect, is not therefore left without diſcipline, whoſe golden ſurvaying reed marks out and meaſures every quarter and circuit of new Jeruſalem. Yet it is not to be conceiv'd that thoſe eternall effluences of ſanctity and love in the glorified Saints ſhould by this meanes be confin'd and cloy'd with repetition of that which is preſcrib'd, but that our happineſſe may orbe it ſelfe into a thouſand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kinde of eccentricall equation be as it were an invariable Planet of joy and felicity, how much leſſe can we believe that God would leave his

fraile and feeble, though not leſſe beloved Church here below to the perpetuall ſtumble of conjecture and diſturbance in this our darke voyage without the card and compaſſe of Diſcipline. Which is ſo hard to be of mans making, that we may ſee even in the guidance of a civill ſtate to worldly happineſſe, it is not for every learned, or every wiſe man, though many of them conſult in common, to invent or frame a diſcipline, but if it be at all the worke of man, it muſt be of ſuch a one as is a true knower of himſelfe, and himſelfe in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence muſt be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden cauſes of things, and ſpan in his thoughts all the various effects that paſſion or complexion can worke in mans nature; and hereto muſt his hand be at defiance with gaine, and his heart in all vertues heroick. So far is it from the kenne of theſe wretched projectors of ours that beſcraull their Pamflets every day with new formes of government for our Church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly inſpir'd as *Moſes*, or were ſuch men as with authority anough might give it out to be ſo, as *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, becauſe they wiſely forethought that men would never quietly ſubmit to ſuch a diſcipline as had not more of Gods hand in it then mans. To come within the narrowneſſe of houſhold government, obſervation will ſhew us many deepe counſellers of ſtate and judges to demean themſelves incorruptly in the ſetl'd courſe of affaires, and many worthy Preachers upright in their lives, powerfull in their audience; but look upon either of theſe men where they are left to their own diſciplining at home, and you ſhall ſoone perceive for all their ſingle knowledge and uprightneſſe, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family; not only in what may concerne the vertuous and decent compo-

sure of their minds in their severall places, but that which is of a lower and easier performance, the right possessing of the outward vessell, their body, in health or sicknesse, rest or labour, diet, or abstinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the soule, and usefull to the Common-wealth: which if men were but as good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor their Horses and Hawks, it could not be so grosse in most housholds. If then it appear so hard and so little knowne, how to governe a house well, which is thought of so easie discharge, and for every mans undertaking, what skill of man, what wisdome, what parts, can be sufficient to give lawes and ordinances to the elect housholds of God? If we could imagine that he had left it at randome without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant so presumptuous that durst dispose and guide the living arke of the holy Ghost, though he should finde it wandring in the field of *Bethshemesh*, without the conscious warrant of some high calling. But no profane insolence can paralell that which our Prelates dare avouch, to drive outragiously, and shatter the holy arke of the Church, not born upon their shoulders with pains and labour in the word, but drawne with rude oxen their officials, and their owne brute inventions. Let them make shewes of reforming while they will, so long as the Church is mounted upon the Prelaticall Cart, and not as it ought betweene the hands of the Ministers, it will but shake and totter, and he that sets to his hand though with a good intent to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawfull waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatall to him as it was to *Vzza*. Certainly if God be the father of his family the Church, wherein could he expresse that name more, then in training it up under his owne all-wise and dear Oeconomy, not turning it loose to the

havock of ſtrangers and wolves that would aſk no better plea then this to doe in the Church of Chriſt, what ever humour, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to. Againe, if Chriſt be the Churches huſband expecting her to be preſented before him a pure unſpotted virgin; in what could he ſhew his tender love to her more, then in preſcribing his owne wayes which he beſt knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty with much greater care doubtleſſe then the Perſian King could appoint for his Queene *Eſther*, thoſe maiden dietings and ſet preſcriptions of baths, and odors, which may render her at laſt the more amiable to his eye. For of any age or ſex, moſt unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertaine and arbitrary education. Yea though ſhe be well inſtructed, yet is ſhe ſtill under a more ſtrait tuition, eſpecially if betroth'd. In like manner the Church bearing the ſame reſemblance, it were not reaſon to think ſhe ſhould be left deſtitute of that care which is as neceſſary, and proper to her, as inſtruction. For publick preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit working as beſt ſeemes to his ſecret will, but diſcipline is the practick work of preaching directed and apply'd as is moſt requiſite to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of ſouls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the Phyſitians in London ſhould get into the ſeverall Pulpits of the City, and aſſembling all the diſeaſed in every pariſh ſhould begin a learned Lecture of Pleuriſies, Palſies, Lethargies, to which perhaps none there preſent were inclin'd, and ſo without ſo much as feeling one puls, or giving the leaſt order to any ſkilfull Apothecary, ſhould diſmiſſe 'em from time to time, ſome groaning, ſome languiſhing, ſome expiring, with this only charge to look well to themſelves, and do as they heare. Of what excellence and neceſſity then

Church-diſcipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to mans invention who would be every foot turning it to ſiniſter ends, how properly alſo it is the worke of God as father, and of Chriſt as Huſband of the Church; we have by thus much heard.

CHAP. II.

That Church governement is ſet downe in holy Scripture, and that to ſay otherwiſe is untrue.

AS therefore it is unſound to ſay that God hath not appointed any ſet government in his Church, ſo is it untrue. Of the time of the Law there can be no doubt; for to let paſſe the firſt inſtitution of Prieſts and Levites, which is too cleare to be inſiſted upon, when the Temple came to be built, which in plaine judgement could breed no eſſentiall change either in religion, or in the Prieſtly government; yet God to ſhew how little he could endure that men ſhould be tampring and contriving in his worſhip, though in things of leſſe regard, gave to *David* for *Solomon* not only a pattern and modell of the Temple, but a direction for the courſes of the Prieſts and Levites, and for all the worke of their ſervice. At the returne from the Captivity things were only reſtor'd after the ordinance of *Moſes* and *David;* or if the leaſt alteration be to be found, they had with them inſpired men, Prophets, and it were not ſober to ſay they did ought of moment without divine intimation. In the Prophefie of *Ezekiel* from the 40 Chapt. onward, after the deſtruction of the Temple, God by his Prophet ſeeking to weane the hearts of the Jewes from their old law to expect a new and

more perfect reformation under Chriſt, ſets out before their eyes the ſtately fabrick and conſtitution of his Church, with al the eccleſiaſticall functions appertaining; indeed the deſcription is as ſorted beſt to the apprehenſion of thoſe times, typicall and ſhadowie, but in ſuch manner as never yet came to paſſe, nor never muſt literally, unleſſe we mean to annihilat the Goſpel. But ſo exquiſit and lively the deſcription is in portraying the new ſtate of the Church, and eſpecially in thoſe points where government ſeemes to be moſt active, that both Jewes and Gentiles might have good cauſe to be aſſur'd, that God when ever he meant to reforme his Church, never intended to leave the governement thereof delineated here in ſuch curious architecture, to be patch't afterwards, and varniſh't over with the devices and imbelliſhings of mans imagination. Did God take ſuch delight in meaſuring out the pillars, arches, and doores of a materiall Temple, was he ſo punctuall and circumſpect in lavers, altars, and ſacrifices ſoone after to be abrogated, leſt any of theſe ſhould have beene made contrary to his minde! is not a farre more perfect worke more agreeable to his perfection in the moſt perfect ſtate of the Church militant, the new alliance of God to man? ſhould not he rather now by his owne preſcribed diſcipline have caſt his line and levell upon the ſoule of man which is his rationall temple, and by the divine ſquare and compaſſe thereof forme and regenerate in us the lovely ſhapes of vertues and graces, the ſooner to edifie and accompliſh that immortall ſtature of Chriſts body which is his Church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions. And that this indeed God hath done for us in the Goſpel we ſhall ſee with open eyes, not under a vaile. We may paſſe over the hiſtory of the Acts and other places, turning only to thoſe Epiſtles of S. *Paul* to *Timothy*

and *Titus:* where the ſpirituall eye may diſcerne more goodly and gracefully erected then all the magnificence of Temple or Tabernacle, ſuch a heavenly ſtructure of evangelick diſcipline ſo diffuſive of knowledge and charity to the proſperous increaſe and growth of the Church, that it cannot be wonder'd if that elegant and artfull ſymmetry of the promiſed new temple in *Ezechiel*, and all thoſe ſumptuous things under the Law were made to ſignifie the inward beauty and ſplendor of the Chriſtian Church thus govern'd. And whether this be commanded let it now be judg'd. S. *Paul* after his preface to the firſt of *Timothy* which hee concludes in the 17 Verſe with Amen, enters upon the ſubject of his Epiſtle which is to eſtabliſh the Church-government with a command. This charge I commit to thee ſon *Timothy:* according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them might'ſt war a good warfare. Which is plain enough thus expounded. This charge I commit to thee wherein I now go about to inſtruct thee how thou ſhalt ſet up Church-diſcipline, that thou might'ſt warre a good warfare, bearing thy ſelfe conſtantly and faithfully in the Miniſtery, which in the 1 to the Corinthians is alſo call'd a warfare: and ſo after a kinde of Parentheſis concerning *Hymenæus* he returnes to his command though under the milde word of exhorting, Cap. 2. v. 1. I exhort therefore. As if he had interrupted his former command by the occaſionall mention of *Hymeneus*. More beneath in the 14 V. of the 3 C. when he hath deliver'd the duties of Biſhops or Preſbyters and Deacons not once naming any other order in the Church, he thus addes. Theſe things write I unto thee hoping to come unto thee ſhortly (ſuch neceſſity it ſeems there was) but if I tarry long, that thou mai'ſt know how thou ought'ſt to behave thy ſelfe in the

houſe of God. From this place it may be juſtly aſk't, whether *Timothy* by this here written might know what was to be knowne concerning the orders of Church-governours or no? If he might, then in ſuch a cleere text as this may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did S. *Paul* write inſufficiently, and moreover ſaid not true, for he ſaith here he might know, and I perſwade my ſelfe he did know ere this was written, but that the Apoſtle had more regard to the inſtruction of us then to the informing of him. In the fifth Chap. after ſome other Church precepts concerning diſcipline, mark what a dreadfull command followes, Verſe 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the elect Angels, that thou obſerve theſe things, and as if all were not yet ſure enough, he cloſes up the Epiſtle with an adjuring charge thus. I give thee charge in the ſight of God who quickneth all things, and before Chriſt Jeſus, that thou keepe this commandement: that is the whole commandement concerning diſcipline, being the maine purpoſe of the Epiſtle: although *Hooker* would faine have this denouncement referr'd to the particular precept going before, becauſe the word Commandement is in the ſingular number, not remembring that even in the firſt Chapt. of this Epiſtle, the word Commandement is us'd in a plurall ſenſe, *Verſ.* 5. Now the end of the Commandement is charity. And what more frequent then in like manner to ſay the Law of *Moſes*. So that either to reſtraine the ſignificance too much, or too much to inlarg it would make the adjuration either not ſo waighty, or not ſo pertinant. And thus we find here that the rules of Church-diſcipline are not only commanded, but hedg'd about with ſuch a terrible impalement of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the leaſt of them, muſt hazard the wounding

of his conſcience even to death. Yet all this notwithſtanding we ſhall finde them broken wellnigh all by the faire pretenders even of the next ages. No leſſe to the contempt of him whom they fain to be the archfounder of prelaty S. *Peter*, who by what he writes in the 5 Chap. of his firſt Epiſtle ſhould ſeeme to be farre another man then tradition reports him: there he commits to the Preſbyters only full authority both of feeding the flock, and Epiſcopating: and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repell the ventrous boldneſſe of innovation that enſu'd, changing the decrees of God that is immutable, as if they had been breath'd by man. Nevertheleſſe when Chriſt by thoſe viſions of S. *Iohn* foreſhewes the reformation of his Church, he bids him take his Reed, and meet it out againe after the firſt patterne, for he preſcribes him no other. Ariſe, ſaid the Angell and meaſure the Temple of God and the Altar, and them that worſhip therein. What is there in the world can meaſure men but diſcipline? Our word ruling imports no leſſe. Doctrine indeed is the meaſure, or at leaſt the reaſon of the meaſure, tis true, but unleſſe the meaſure be apply'd to that which it is to meaſure, how can it actually doe its proper worke. Whether therefore diſcipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that perſon, we all agree that doctrine muſt be ſuch only as is commanded; or whether it be ſomething really differing from doctrine, yet was it only of Gods appointment, as being the moſt adequat meaſure of the Church and her children, which is here the office of a great Evangeliſt and the reed given him from heaven. But that part of the Temple which is not thus meaſur'd, ſo farre is it from being in Gods tuition or delight, that in

the following verſe he rejects it, however in ſhew and viſibility it may ſeeme a part of his Church, yet in as much as it lyes thus unmeaſur'd he leaves it to be trampl'd by the Gentiles, that is to be polluted with idolatrous and Gentiliſh rites and ceremonies. And that the principall reformation here foretold is already come to paſſe as well in diſcipline as in doctrine the ſtate of our neighbour Churches affords us to behold. Thus through all the periods and changes of the Church it hath beene prov'd that God hath ſtill reſerv'd to himſelfe the right of enacting Church-government.

CHAP. III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Goſpell to hold that Church-government is to be pattern'd by the Law, as B. Andrews *and the Primat of* Armagh *maintaine.*

WE may returne now from this interpoſing difficulty thus remov'd, to affirme, that ſince Church-government is ſo ſtrictly commanded in Gods Word, the firſt and greateſt reaſon why we ſhould ſubmit thereto, is becauſe God hath ſo commanded. But whether of theſe two, Prelaty or Preſbytery can prove it ſelfe to be ſupported by this firſt and greateſt reaſon, muſt be the next diſpute. Wherein this poſition is to be firſt layd down as granted; that I may not follow a chaſe rather then an argument, that one of theſe two, and none other is of Gods ordaining, and if it be, that ordinance muſt be evident in the Goſpell. For the imperfect and obſcure inſtitution of the Law, which the Apoſtles themſelves doubt not oft-times to vilifie, cannot give rules to the compleat and glorious

miniſtration of the Goſpell, which lookes on the Law, as on a childe, not as on a tutor. And that the Prelates have no ſure foundation in the Goſpell, their own guiltineſſe doth manifeſt: they would not elſe run queſting up as high as *Adam* to fetch their originall, as tis ſaid one of them lately did in publick. To which aſſertion, had I heard it, becauſe I ſee they are ſo inſatiable of antiquity, I ſhould have gladly aſſented, and confeſt them yet more ancient. For *Lucifer* before *Adam* was the firſt prelat Angel, and both he, as is commonly thought, and our forefather *Adam*, as we all know, for aſpiring above their orders, were miſerably degraded. But others better advis'd are content to receive their beginning from *Aaron* and his ſons, among whom *B. Andrews* of late yeares, and in theſe times the Primat of *Armagh* for their learning are reputed the beſt able to ſay what may be ſaid in this opinion. The Primat in his diſcourſe about the originall of Epiſcopacy newly revis'd begins thus. The ground of Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the pattern preſcribed by God in the old Teſtament, and partly from the imitation thereof brought in by the Apoſtles. Herein I muſt entreat to be excus'd of the deſire I have to be ſatisfi'd, how for example the ground of Epiſcop. is fetch't partly from the example of the old Teſtament, by whom next, and by whoſe authority. Secondly, how the Church-government under the Goſpell can be rightly call'd an imitation of that in the old Teſtament? for that the Goſpell is the end and fulfilling of the Law, our liberty alſo from the bondage of the Law I plainly reade. How then the ripe age of the Goſpell ſhould be put to ſchoole againe, and learn to governe her ſelfe from the infancy of the Law, the ſtronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be leſſon'd by the rude, will be a hard

undertaking to evince from any of thoſe principles which either art or inſpiration hath written. If any thing done by the Apoſtles may be drawne howſoever to a likeneſſe of ſomething Moſaicall, if it cannot be prov'd that it was done of purpoſe in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little availe the matter. The whole Judaick law is either politicall, and to take pattern by that, no Chriſtian nation ever thought it ſelfe oblig'd in conſcience; or morall, which containes in it the obſervation of whatſoever is ſubſtantially, and perpetually true and good, either in religion or courſe of life. That which is thus morall, beſides what we fetch from thoſe unwritten lawes and Ideas which nature hath ingraven in us, the Goſpell, as ſtands with her dignity moſt, lectures to us from her own authentick hand-writing, and command, not copies out from the borrow'd manuſcript of a ſubſervient ſcrowl, by way of imitating. As well might ſhe be ſaid in her Sacrament of water to imitate the baptiſme of *Iohn*. What though ſhe retaine excommunication us'd in the Synagogue, retain the morality of the Sabbath, ſhe does not therefore imitate the law her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally deliver'd from the law to the Goſpell in the office of the Prieſts and Levites, was that there ſhould be a miniſtery ſet a part to teach and diſcipline the Church, both which duties the Apoſtles thought good to commit to the Preſbyters. And if any diſtinction of honour were to be made among them, they directed it ſhould be to thoſe not that only rule well, but eſpecially to thoſe that labour in the word and doctrine.* By which we are taught that laborious teaching is the moſt honourable Prelaty that one Miniſter can

* 1 Tim. 5.

have above another in the Goſpell: if therefore the ſuperiority of Biſhopſhip be grounded on the Prieſthood as a part of the morall law, it cannot be ſaid to be an imitation; for it were ridiculous that morality ſhould imitate morality, which ever was the ſame thing. This very word of patterning or imitating excludes Epiſcopacy from the ſolid and grave Ethicall law, and betraies it to be a meere childe of ceremony, or likelier ſome miſbegotten thing, that having pluckt the gay feathers of her obſolet bravery to hide her own deformed bareneſſe, now vaunts and glories in her ſtolne plumes. In the meane while what danger there is againſt the very life of the Goſpell to make in any thing the typical law her pattern, and how impoſſible in that which touches the Prieſtly government, I ſhall uſe ſuch light as I have receav'd, to lay open. It cannot be unknowne by what expreſſions the holy Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſpares not to explane to us the nature and condition of the law, calling thoſe ordinances which were the chiefe and eſſentiall offices of the Prieſts, the elements and rudiments of the world both weake and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promiſe, the heirs of liberty and grace under ſuch a kinde of government as is profeſt to be but an imitation of that miniſtery which engender'd to bondage the ſons of *Agar*, how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birthright and immunity which Chriſt hath purchas'd for us with his blood. For the miniſtration of the law conſiſting of carnall things, drew to it ſuch a miniſtery as conſiſted of carnall reſpects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And ſuch a miniſtery eſtabliſh't in the Goſpell, as is founded upon the points and termes of ſuperiority, and neſts it ſelfe in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we ſee it doth, ſuch a religion as runnes back againe to the old

ıpe and glory of the flesh. For doubtlesse there certaine attraction and magnetick force betwixt religion and the ministeriall forme thereof. If religion be pure, spirituall, simple, and lowly, he Gospel most truly is, such must the face of the istery be. And in like manner if the forme of Ministery be grounded in the worldly degrees of ›rity, honour, temporall jurisdiction, we see it ı our eyes it will turne the inward power and ity of the Gospel into the outward carnality of law; evaporating and exhaling the internall ship into empty conformities, and gay shewes. l what remains then but that wee should runne as dangerous and deadly apostacy as our lamented ;hbours the Papists, who by this very snare and all of imitating the ceremonial law, fel into that coverable superstition, as must needs make void cov'nant of salvation to them that persist in this dnesse.

CHAP. IV.

t it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron *a pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.*

THat which was promis'd next, is to declare the impossibility of grounding Evangelick government in the imitation of the Jewish Priesthood: which will be done by idering both the quality of the persons, and the e it selfe. *Aaron* and his sonnes were the Princes heir Tribe before they were sanctified to the sthood: that personall eminence which they above the other *Levites*, they receav'd not only ı their office, but partly brought it into their e: and so from that time forward the Priests not chosen out of the whole number of the

Levites, as our Biſhops, but were borne inheritors of the dignity. Therefore unleſſe we ſhall chooſe our Prelats only out of the Nobility, and let them runne in a blood, there can be no poſſible imitation of Lording over their brethren in regard of their perſons altogether unlike. As for the office which was a repreſentation of Chriſts own perſon more immediately in the high Prieſt, and of his whole prieſtly office in all the other; to the performance of which the Levits were but as ſervitors and Deacons, it was neceſſary there ſhould be a diſtinction of dignity betweene two functions of ſo great ods. But there being no ſuch difference among our Miniſters, unleſſe it be in reference to the Deacons, it is impoſſible to found a Prelaty upon the imitation of this Prieſthood. For wherein, or in what worke is the office of a Prelat excellent above that of a Paſtor? in ordination you'l ſay; but flatly againſt Scripture, for there we know *Timothy* receav'd ordination by the hands of the Preſbytery, notwithſtanding all the vaine deluſions that are us'd to evade that teſtimony, and maintaine an unwarrantable uſurpation. But wherefore ſhould ordination be a cauſe of ſetting up a ſuperiour degree in the Church? is not that whereby Chriſt became our Saviour a higher and greater worke, then that whereby he did ordaine meſſengers to preach and publiſh him our Saviour? Every Miniſter ſuſtains the perſon of Chriſt in his higheſt work of communicating to us the myſteries of our ſalvation, and hath the power of binding and abſolving, how ſhould he need a higher dignity to repreſent or execute that which is an inferior work in Chriſt? why ſhould the performance of ordination which is a lower office exalt a Prelat, and not the ſeldome diſcharge of a higher and more noble office which is preaching and adminiſtring much rather depreſſe him? Verily neither the nature, nor the

example of ordination doth any way require an imparity betweene the ordainer and the ordained. For what more naturall then every like to produce his like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire, and in examples of higheſt opinion the ordainer is inferior to the ordained; for the Pope is not made by the precedent Pope, but by Cardinals, who ordain and conſecrate to a higher and greater office then their own.

CHAP. V.

To the Arguments of B. Andrews *and the* Primat.

IT followes here to attend to certaine objections in a little treatiſe lately printed among others of like ſort at *Oxford*, and in the title ſaid to be out of the rude draughts of Biſhop *Andrews*. And ſurely they bee rude draughts indeed, in ſo much that it is marvell to think what his friends meant to let come abroad ſuch ſhallow reaſonings with the name of a man ſo much bruited for learning. In the 12 and 23 pages he ſeemes moſt notoriouſly inconſtant to himſelfe; for in the former place he tels us he forbeares to take any argument of Prelaty from *Aaron*, as being the type of Chriſt. In the latter he can forbeare no longer, but repents him of his raſh gratuity, affirming, that to ſay, Chriſt being come in the fleſh, his figure in the high Prieſt ceaſeth, is the ſhift of an Anabaptiſt; and ſtiffly argues that Chriſt being as well King as Prieſt, was as well fore-reſembled by the Kings then, as by the high Prieſt. So that if his comming take away the one type, it muſt alſo the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well worth that the land ſhould pay ſix thouſand pound a yeare for, in a Biſhoprick, although I reade of no

Sophiſter among the Greeks that was ſo dear, neither *Hippias* nor *Protagoras*, nor any whom the Socratick ſchoole famouſly refuted with out hire. Here we have the type of the King ſow'd to the typet of the Biſhop, ſuttly to caſt a jealouſie upon the Crowne, as if the right of Kings, like *Meleager* in the Metamorphoſis, were no longer liv'd then the firebrand of Prelaty. But more likely the Prelats fearing (for their own guilty carriage proteſts they doe feare) that their faire dayes cannot long hold, practize by poſſeſſing the King with this moſt falſe doctrine, to ingage his power for them, as in his owne quarrell, that when they fall they may fall in a generall ruine, juſt as cruell *Tyberius* would wiſh,

When I dye, let the earth be roul'd in flames.

But where, O Biſhop, doth the purpoſe of the law ſet forth Chriſt to us as a King? That which never was intended in the Law, can never be aboliſh't as part thereof. When the Law was made, there was no King: if before the law, or under the law God by a ſpeciall type in any King would foreſignifie the future kingdome of Chriſt, which is not yet viſibly come, what was that to the law? The whole ceremoniall law, and types can be in no law elſe, comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Chriſts Prieſthood, which being in ſubſtance accompliſht, both law and Prieſthood fades away of it ſelfe, and paſſes into aire like a tranſitory viſion, and the right of Kings neither ſtands by any type nor falls. We acknowledge that the civill magiſtrate weares an autority of Gods giving, and ought to be obey'd as his vicegerent. But to make a King a type, we ſay is an abuſive and unſkilfull ſpeech, and of a morall ſolidity makes it ſeeme a ceremoniall ſhadow. Therefore your typical chaine of King and Prieſt muſt unlink. But is not the type of Prieſt taken away by Chriſts comming? no

his famous Proteſtant Biſhop of Wincheſter;
ıot, and he that ſaith it is, is an Anabaptiſt.
think ye Readers, do ye not underſtand him?
can be gather'd hence but that the Prelat
ſtill ſacrifice? conceave him readers, he would
cate. Their altars indeed were in a fair for-
eſſe; and by ſuch arguments as theſe they
ſetting up the molten Calfe of their Maſſe
:, and of their great Hierarch the Pope. For
type of Prieſt be not taken away, then neither
high Prieſt, it were a ſtrange beheading; and
Prieſt more then one there cannot be, and that
ın be no leſſe then a Pope. And this doubt-
vas the bent of his career, though never ſo
ly. Yea but there was ſomething elſe in the
Prieſt beſides the figure, as is plain by S. *Pauls*
wledging him. Tis true that in the 17 of
whence this autority ariſes to the Prieſt in
rs too hard for the ſecular judges, as muſt needs
ıny in the occaſions of thoſe times involv'd ſo
ceremoniall niceties, no wonder though it be
ıanded to enquire at the mouth of the Prieſts,
beſides the Magiſtrates their collegues had the
e of Urim to conſult with. And whether the
Prieſt *Ananias* had not incroach't beyond the
of his Prieſtly autority, or whether us'd it
y, was no time then for S. *Paul* to conteſt
. But if this inſtance be able to aſſert any
of juriſdiction to the Clergy, it muſt impart it
ınmon to all Miniſters, ſince it were a great
to ſeeke for counſell in a hard intricat ſcruple
a Dunce Prelat, when there might be found a
ier ſolution from a grave and learned Miniſter,
ı God hath gifted with the judgement of Urim
amply oft-times then all the Prelates together;
ɔw in the Goſpell hath granted the privilege of
raculous Ephod alike to all his Miniſters. The

reaſon therefore of imparity in the Prieſts, being now as is aforeſaid, really annull'd both in their perſon, and in their repreſentative office, what right of juriſdiction ſoever can be from this place Levitically bequeath'd, muſt deſcend upon the Miniſters of the Goſpell equally, as it findes them in all other points equall. Well then he is finally content to let *Aaron* go. *Eleazar* will ſerve his turne, as being a ſuperior of ſuperiors, and yet no type of Chriſt in *Aarons* life time. O thou that would'ſt winde into any figment, or phantaſme to ſave thy Miter! Yet all this will not ſadge, though it be cunningly interpoliſht by ſome ſecond hand with crooks and emendations; Heare then; the type of Chriſt in ſome one particular, as of entring yearly into the Holy of holies and ſuch like, reſted upon the High Prieſt only as more immediately perſonating our Saviour: but to reſemble his whole ſatisfactory office all the lineage of *Aaron* was no more then ſufficient. And all, or any of the Prieſts conſider'd ſeparately without relation to the higheſt, are but as a liveleſſe trunk and ſignifie nothing. And this ſhewes the excellence of Chriſts ſacrifice, who at once and in one perſon fulfill'd that which many hundreds of Prieſts many times repeating had anough to foreſhew. What other imparity there was among themſelves, we may ſafely ſuppoſe it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumſtances of a carnall ſervice, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the ſumme of what the Biſhop hath laid together to make plea for Prelaty by imitation of the Law. Though indeed, if it may ſtand, it will inferre Popedome all as well. Many other courſes he tries, enforcing himſelfe with much oſtentation of endleſſe genealogies, as if he were the man that S. *Paul* forewarnes us of in *Timothy*, but ſo unvigorouſly, that

I do not feare his winning of many to his cauſe, but ſuch as doting upon great names are either over-weake, or over ſudden of faith. I ſhall not refuſe therefore to learne ſo much prudence as I finde in the Roman Souldier that attended the croſſe, not to ſtand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but paſſe to that which follows. The Primat of *Armagh* at the beginning of his tractat ſeeks to availe himſelfe of that place in the 66 of *Eſaiah*, I will take of them for Prieſts and Levites, ſaith the Lord; to uphold hereby ſuch a forme of ſuperiority among the miniſters of the Goſpell, ſucceeding thoſe in the law, as the Lords day did the Sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of interpreting thoſe propheticall paſſages concerning Chriſtian times in a punctuall correſpondence, it may with equall probability be urg'd upon us, that we are bound to obſerve ſome monthly ſolemnity anſwerable to the new moons, as well as the Lords day which we keepe in lieu of the Sabbath: for in the 23 v. the Prophet joynes them in the ſame manner together, as before he did the Prieſts and Levites, thus. And it ſhall come to paſſe that from one new moone to another, and from one Sabbath to another ſhall all fleſh come to worſhip before me, ſaith the Lord. Undoubtedly with as good conſequence may it be alledg'd from hence, that we are to ſolemnize ſome religious monthly meeting different from the Sabbath, as from the other any diſtinct formality of Eccleſiaſticall orders may be inferr'd. This rather will appeare to be the lawfull and unconſtrain'd ſenſe of the text, that God in taking of them for Prieſts and Levites, will not eſteeme them unworthy though Gentiles, to undergoe any function in the Church, but will make of them a full and perfect miniſtery, as was that of the Prieſts and Levites in their kinde. And

Biſhop *Andrews* himſelfe to end the controverſie, ſends us a candid expoſition of this quoted verſe from the 24 page of his ſaid book, plainly deciding that God by thoſe legall names there of Prieſts and Levites means our Preſbyters, and Deacons, for which either ingenuous confeſſion, or ſlip of his pen we give him thanks, and withall to him that brought theſe treatiſes into one volume, who ſetting the contradictions of two learned men ſo neere together, did not foreſee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of S. *Paul* to prove a likeneſſe betweene the Miniſters of the Old and New Teſtament, having tri'd their ſinewes I judge they may paſſe without harme doing to our cauſe. We may remember then that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the Goſpell, which aſſertion as being for the plainneſſe thereof a matter of eye ſight, rather then of diſquiſition I voluntarily omitt, not forgetting to ſpecifie this note againe, that the earneſt deſire which the Prelates have to build their Hierarchy upon the ſandy bottome of the law, gives us to ſee abundantly the little aſſurance which they finde to reare up their high roofs by the autority of the Goſpell, repulſt as it were from the writings of the Apoſtles, and driven to take ſanctuary among the Jewes. Hence that open confeſſion of the Primat before mention'd. Epiſcopacy is fetcht partly from the patterne of the Old Teſtament and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old, though nothing can be more rotten in Divinity then ſuch a poſition as this, and is all one as to ſay Epiſcopacy is partly of divine inſtitution, and partly of mans own carving. For who gave the autority to fetch more from the patterne of the law then what the Apoſtles had already fetcht, if they fetcht any thing at all; as hath beene prov'd they did not. So was *Jeroboams* Epiſcopacy partly from the patterne of the law, and

y from the patterne of his owne carnality; a
-colour'd and a parti-member'd Epiſcopacy,
what can this be leſſe then a monſtrous?
:rs therefore among the Prelats perhaps not ſo
able to brook, or rather to juſtifie this foule
ſing to the old law, have condiſcended at laſt
plaine confeſſing that both the names and offices
iſhops and Preſbyters at firſt were the ſame, and
e Scriptures no where diſtinguiſht. This grants
:emonſtrant in the fift Section of his defence,
in the Preface to his laſt ſhort anſwer. But
: need reſpect be had whether he grant or grant
t, when as through all antiquity, and even in
loftieſt times of Prelaty we finde it granted.
ne the learned'ſt of the Fathers hides not his
ion, that cuſtome only, which the Proverbe
a tyrant, was the maker of Prelaty; before his
cious workmanſhip the Churches were rul'd in
non by the Preſbyters, and ſuch a certaine
ı this was eſteem'd, that it became a decree
ıg the Papall Canons compil'd by *Gratian*.
lme alſo of Canturbury, who to uphold the
ts of his Prelatiſme made himſelfe a traytor to
:ountry, yet commenting the Epiſtles to *Titus*
:he *Philippians* acknowledges from the cleerneſſe
ıe text, what *Ierome* and the Church Rubrick
before acknowledg'd. He little dreamt then
the weeding-hook of reformation would after
ages pluck up his glorious poppy from inſult-
over the good corne. Though ſince ſome of
Brittiſh Prelates ſeeing themſelves preſt to pro-
: Scripture, try all their cunning, if the New
ament will not help them, to frame of their
heads as it were with wax a kinde of Mimick
op limm'd out to the life of a dead Prieſthood.
:lſe they would ſtraine us out a certaine figura-
Prelat, by wringing the collective allegory of

thoſe ſeven Angels into ſeven ſingle Rochets. Howſoever ſince it thus appeares that cuſtome was the creator of Prelaty being leſſe ancient then the government of Preſbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tell us of Biſhops through ſo many ages: and if againſt their tedious muſter of citations, Sees, and ſucceſſions, it be reply'd that wagers and Church antiquities, ſuch as are repugnant to the plaine dictat of Scripture are both alike the arguments of fooles, they have their anſwer. We rather are to cite all thoſe ages to an arraignment before the word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how preſuming they durſt alter that divine inſtitution of Preſbyters, which the Apoſtles who were no various and inconſtant men ſurely had ſet up in the Churches, and why they chooſe to live by cuſtome and catalogue, or as S. *Paul* ſaith by ſight and viſibility, rather then by faith? But firſt I conclude from their owne mouthes that Gods command in Scripture, which doubtleſſe ought to be the firſt and greateſt reaſon of Church-government, is wanting to Prelaty. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Chriſt to determine that the want of this reaſon is of it ſelfe ſufficient to confute all other pretences that may be brought in favour of it.

CHAP. VI.

That Prelaty was not ſet up for prevention of Schiſme, as is pretended, or if it were, that it performes not what it was firſt ſet up for, but quite the contrary.

YEt becauſe it hath the outſide of a ſpecious reaſon, and ſpecious things we know are apteſt to worke with humane lightneſſe and frailty, even againſt the ſolideſt truth, that ſounds not plauſibly, let us think it worth the

ining for the love of infirmer Chriſtians, of
importance this their ſecond reaſon may be.
ition they ſay hath taught them that for the
ntion of growing ſchiſme the Biſhop was
d above the Preſbyter. And muſt tradition
ever thus to the worlds end be the perpetuall
r-worme to eat out Gods Commandements? are
crees ſo inconſiderate and ſo fickle, that when
atutes of *Solon*, or *Lycurgus* ſhall prove durably
to many ages, his in 40 yeares ſhall be found
tive, ill contriv'd, and for needfull cauſes to be
d? Our Saviour and his Apoſtles did not only
e, but foretell and forewarne us to looke for
ne. Is it a thing to be imagin'd of Gods wiſ-
, or at leaſt of Apoſtolick prudence to ſet up
a government in the tenderneſſe of the Church,
uld incline, or not be more able then any other
poſe it ſelfe to ſchiſme? it was well knowne
a bold lurker ſchiſme was even in the houſhold
riſt betweene his owne Diſciples and thoſe of
the Baptiſt about faſting: and early in the Acts
e Apoſtles the noiſe of ſchiſme had almoſt
n'd the proclaiming of the Goſpell; yet we
not in Scripture that any thought was had of
ng Prelates, no not in thoſe places where diſ-
n was moſt rife. If Prelaty had beene then
n'd a remedy againſt ſchiſme, where was it
needfull then in that great variance among
Corinthians which S. *Paul* ſo labour'd to recon-
and whoſe eye could have found the fitteſt
dy ſooner then his? and what could have made
emedy more available, then to have us'd it
ily? and laſtly what could have beene more
ſary then to have written it for our inſtruction?
e ſee he neither commended it to us, nor us'd
nſelfe. For the ſame diviſion remaining there,
ſe burſting forth againe more then 20 yeares

after S. *Pauls* death, wee finde in *Clements* Epiſtle of venerable autority written to the yet factious *Corinthians*, that they were ſtill govern'd by Preſbyters. And the ſame of other Churches out of *Hermas*, and divers other the ſcholers of the Apoſtles by the late induſtry of the learned *Salmatius* appeares. Neither yet did this worthy *Clement* S. *Pauls* diſciple, though writing to them to lay aſide ſchiſme, in the leaſt word adviſe them to change the Preſbyteriall government into Prelaty. And therefore if God afterward gave, or permitted this inſurrection of Epiſcopacy, it is to be fear'd he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Iſraelites a King. With ſo good a will doth he uſe to alter his own choſen government once eſtabliſh'd. For marke whether this rare device of mans braine thus preferr'd before the ordinance of God, had better ſucceſſe then fleſhly wiſdome not counſeling with God is wont to have. So farre was it from removing ſchiſme, that if ſchiſme parted the congregations before, now it rent and mangl'd, now it rag'd. Hereſie begat hereſie with a certaine monſtrous haſte of pregnancy in her birth, at once borne and bringing forth. Contentions before brotherly were now hoſtile. Men went to chooſe their Biſhop as they went to a pitcht field, and the day of his election was like the ſacking of a City, ſometimes ended with the blood of thouſands. Nor this among hereticks only, but men of the ſame beliefe, yea confeſſors, and that with ſuch odious ambition, that *Euſebius* in his eighth book teſtifies he abhorr'd to write. And the reaſon is not obſcure, for the poore dignity or rather burden of a Parochial Preſbyter could not ingage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but Prelaty was a power of that extent, and ſway, that if her election were popular, it was ſeldome not the cauſe of ſome faction or broil in the Church. But if her dignity came

ıvour of ſome Prince, ſhe was from that time
reature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends
ıte were they right or wrong. So that in ſtead
nding Prelaty an impeacher of Schiſme or fac-
the more I ſearch, the more I grow into all
vaſion to think rather that faction and ſhe as
a ſpouſall ring are wedded together, never to
ivorc't. But here let every one behold the juſt,
dreadfull judgement of God meeting with the
cious pride of man that durſt offer to mend the
ıances of heaven. God out of the ſtrife of men
ght forth by his Apoſtles to the Church that
ficent and ever diſtributing office of Deacons,
ſtewards and Miniſters of holy almes, man out
he pretended care of peace and unity being
ht in the ſnare of his impious boldneſſe to cor-
the will of Chriſt, brought forth to himſelfe
ı the Church that irreconcileable ſchiſme of
ition and Apoſtaſy, the Roman Antichriſt: for
the exaltation of the Pope aroſe out of the rea-
of Prelaty it cannot be deny'd. And as I noted
re that the patterne of the High Prieſt pleaded
n the Goſpel (for take away the head Prieſt the
are but a carcaſſe) ſets up with better reaſon a
:, then an Archbiſhop, for if Prelaty muſt ſtill
and riſe till it come to a Primat, why ſhould it
there? when as the catholick government is not
ollow the diviſion of kingdomes, the temple
repreſenting the univerſall Church, and the
h Prieſt the univerſall head; ſo I obſerve here,
if to quiet ſchiſme there muſt be one head of
aty in a land or Monarchy riſing from a Provin-
to a nationall Primacy, there may upon better
ınds of repreſſing ſchiſme be ſet up one catho-
head over the catholick Church. For the
e and good of the Church is not terminated in
ſchiſmeleſſe eſtate of one or two kingdomes, but

ſhould be provided for by the joynt conſultation of all reformed Chriſtendome: that all controverſie may end in the finall pronounce or canon of one Arch-primat, or Proteſtant Pope. Although by this meanes for ought I ſee, all the diameters of ſchiſme may as well meet and be knit up in the center of one grand falſhood. Now let all impartiall men arbitrate what goodly inference theſe two maine reaſons of the Prelats have, that by a naturall league of conſequence make more for the Pope then for themſelves. Yea to ſay more home are the very wombe for a new ſubantichriſt to breed in; if it be not rather the old force and power of the ſame man of ſin counterfeiting proteſtant. It was not the prevention of ſchiſme, but it was ſchiſme it ſelfe, and the hatefull thirſt of Lording in the Church that firſt beſtow'd a being upon Prelaty; this was the true cauſe, but the pretence is ſtil the ſame. The Prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mawls of ſchiſme. Forſooth if they be put downe, a deluge of innumerable ſects will follow; we ſhall be all Browniſts, Familiſts, Anabaptiſts. For the word Puritan ſeemes to be quaſht, and all that heretofore were counted ſuch, are now Browniſts. And thus doe they raiſe an evill report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for, like thoſe faithleſſe ſpies, whoſe carcaſſes ſhall periſh in the wilderneſſe of their owne confuſed ignorance, and never taſte the good of reformation. Doe they keepe away ſchiſme? if to bring a num and chil ſtupidity of ſoul, an unactive blindneſſe of minde upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all, if to perſecute all knowing and zealous Chriſtians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away ſchiſme, they keep away ſchiſme indeed; and by this kind of diſcipline all *Italy* and *Spaine* is as purely and politickly kept from ſchiſme

England hath beene by them. With as good a
might the dead palſie boaſt to a man, tis I that
you from ſtitches and paines, and the trouble-
e feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and ſtrokes;
were gone, all theſe would moleſt you. The
ıter might as well vaunt it ſelfe againſt the
ng, I deſtroy all noyſome and rank weeds, I
ɔe downe all peſtilent vapours. Yes and all
ɔleſome herbs, and all freſh dews, by your vio-
and hidebound froſt; but when the gentle weſt
ds ſhall open the fruitfull boſome of the earth
; over-girded by your impriſonment, then the
'ers put forth and ſpring, and then the Sunne
l ſcatter the miſts, and the manuring hand of
Tiller ſhall root up all that burdens the ſoile
ıout thank to your bondage. But farre worſe
ı any frozen captivity is the bondage of Prelates,
that other, if it keep down any thing which is
d, within the earth, ſo doth it likewiſe that
ch is ill, but theſe let out freely the ill, and keep
'n the good, or elſe keepe downe the leſſer ill,
let out the greateſt. Be aſham'd at laſt to tell
Parlament ye curbe Schiſmaticks, when as they
w ye cheriſh and ſide with Papiſts, and are now
t were one party with them, and tis ſaid they
ɔe to petition for ye. Can we believe that your
ernment ſtrains in good earneſt at the petty
ts of ſchiſme, when as we ſee it makes nothing
ſwallow the Camel hereſie of *Rome;* but that
:ed your throats are of the right Phariſaical
ine. Where are thoſe ſchiſmaticks with whom
Prelats hold ſuch hot ſkirmiſh? ſhew us your
, thoſe glorious annals which your Courts of
hed memory lately deceas'd have left us? thoſe
ſmaticks I doubt me wil be found the moſt of
n ſuch as whoſe only ſchiſme was to have ſpoke
truth againſt your high abominations and cruel-

ties in the Church; this is the ſchiſme ye hate moſt, the removall of your criminous Hierarchy. A politick government of yours, and of a pleaſant conceit, ſet up to remove thoſe as a pretended ſchiſme, that would remove you as a palpable hereſie in government. If the ſchiſme would pardon ye that, ſhe might go jagg'd in as many cuts and ſlaſhes as ſhe pleas'd for you. As for the rending of the Church, we have many reaſons to thinke it is not that which ye labour to prevent ſo much as the rending of your pontificall ſleeves: that ſchiſme would be the foreſt ſchiſme to you, that would be Browniſme and Anabaptiſme indeed. If we go downe, ſay you, as if *Adrians* wall were broke, a flood of ſects will ruſh in. What ſects? What are their opinions? give us the Inventory; it will appeare both by your former proſecutions and your preſent inſtances, that they are only ſuch to ſpeake of as are offended with your lawleſſe government, your ceremonies, your Liturgy, an extract of the Maſſe book tranſlated. But that they ſhould be contemners of publick prayer, and Churches us'd without ſuperſtition, I truſt God will manifeſt it ere long to be as falſe a ſlander, as your former ſlanders againſt the Scots. Noiſe it till ye be hoarſe; that a rabble of Sects will come in, it will be anſwer'd ye, no rabble ſir Prieſt, but a unanimous multitude of good Proteſtants will then joyne to the Church, which now becauſe of you ſtand ſeparated. This will be the dreadfull conſequence of your removall. As for thoſe terrible names of Sectaries and Schiſmaticks which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments which is ever thin, and weakly ſtor'd, after the firſt brunt is quite empty, your courſe is to betake ye to your other quiver of ſlander, wherein lyes your beſt archery. And whom ye could not move by ſophiſ-

ticall arguing, them you thinke to confute by ſcandalous miſnaming. Thereby inciting the blinder ſort of people to miſlike and deride ſound doctrine and good chriſtianity under two or three vile and hatefull terms. But if we could eaſily indure and diſſolve your doubtieſt reaſons in argument, we ſhall more eaſily beare the worſt of your unreaſonableneſſe in calumny and falſe report. Eſpecially being foretold by Chriſt, that if he our Maſter were by your predeceſſors call'd Samaritan and Belzebub, we muſt not think it ſtrange if his beſt Diſciples in the reformation, as at firſt by thoſe of your tribe they were call'd Lollards and Huſſites, ſo now by you be term'd Puritans, and Brownists. But my hope is that the people of England will not ſuffer themſelves to be juggl'd thus out of their faith and religion by a miſt of names caſt before their eyes, but will ſearch wiſely by the Scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aſperſion of a diſgracefull name into the things themſelves: knowing that the Primitive Chriſtians in their times were accounted ſuch as are now call'd Familiſts and Adamites, or worſe. And many on the Prelatick ſide like the Church of *Sardis* have a name to live, and yet are dead; to be Proteſtants, and are indeed Papiſts in moſt of their principles. Thus perſwaded, this your old fallacy wee ſhall ſoone unmaſk, and quickly apprehend how you prevent ſchiſme, and who are your ſchiſmaticks. But what if ye prevent, and hinder all good means of preventing ſchiſme? that way which the Apoſtles us'd, was to call a councell; from which by any thing that can be learnt from the fifteenth of the *Acts*, no faithfull Chriſtian was debarr'd, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of ſuch a councell as this every parochiall Conſiſtory is a right homogeneous and conſtituting part being in it ſelfe as it

were a little Synod, and towards a generall aſſembly moving upon her own baſis in an even and firme progreſſion, as thoſe ſmaller ſquares in battell unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an embleme of truth and ſtedfaſtneſſe. Whereas on the other ſide Prelaty aſcending by a graduall monarchy from Biſhop to Arch-biſhop, from thence to Primat, and from thence, for there can be no reaſon yeilded neither in nature, nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it ſhould not be a Lordly aſcendent in the horoſcope of the Church, from Primate to Patriarch, and ſo to Pope. I ſay Prelaty thus aſcending in a continuall pyramid upon pretence to perfect the Churches unity, if notwithſtanding it be found moſt needfull, yea the utmoſt helpe to dearn up the rents of ſchiſme by calling a councell, what does it but teach us that Prelaty is of no force to effect this work which ſhe boaſts to be her maiſter-peice; and that her pyramid aſpires and ſharpens to ambition, not to perfection, or unity. This we know, that as often as any great ſchiſme diſparts the Church, and Synods be proclam'd, the Preſbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the Biſhops, which the Canon law conceals not. So that Prelaty if ſhe will ſeek to cloſe up diviſions in the Church, muſt be forc't to diſſolve, and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which ſhe affirmes to be of ſuch uniting power, when as indeed it is the moſt dividing, and ſchiſmaticall forme that Geometricians know of, and muſt be faine to inglobe, or incube her ſelfe among the Preſbyters; which ſhe hating to do, ſends her haughty Prelates from all parts with their forked Miters, the badge of ſchiſme or the ſtampe of his cloven foot whom they ſerve I think, who according to their hierarchies acuminating ſtill higher and higher in a cone of Prelaty, in ſtead of healing up the

gaſhes of the Church, as it happens in ſuch pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their ſharpe ſpires for upper place, and precedence, till the councell it ſelfe prove the greateſt ſchiſme of all. And thus they are ſo farre from hindring diſſention, that they have made unprofitable, and even noyſome the chiefeſt remedy we have to keep Chriſtendom at one, which is by councels: and theſe if wee rightly conſider Apoſtolick example, are nothing elſe but generall Preſbyteries. This ſeem'd ſo farre from the Apoſtles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impair'd, that, as we may gather by thoſe Epiſtles of *Peter* and *Iohn*, which are likely to be lateſt written, when the Church grew to a ſetling, like thoſe heroick patricians of Rome (if we may uſe ſuch compariſon) haſting to lay downe their dictatorſhip, they rejoys't to call themſelves and to be as fellow Elders among their brethren. Knowing that their high office was but as the ſcaffolding of the Church yet unbuilt, and would be but a troubleſome disfigurement, ſo ſoone as the building was finiſht. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, ſuch was their ſmall diſcerning, thought it a poore indignity, that the high rear'd government of the Church ſhould ſo on a ſudden, as it ſeem'd to them, ſquat into a Preſbytery. Next or rather before councels the timelieſt prevention of ſchiſme is to preach the Goſpell abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to inſtruct the youth religiouſly, to endeavour how the Scriptures may be eaſieſt underſtood by all men; to all which the proceedings of theſe men have been on ſet purpoſe contrary. But how O Prelats ſhould you remove ſchiſme, and how ſhould you not remove and oppoſe all the meanes of removing ſchiſm? when Prelaty is a ſchiſme it ſelfe from the moſt reformed and moſt

flouriſhing of our neighbour Churches abroad, and a ſad ſubject of diſcord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you alledge is the very diſeaſe we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing it ſelfe. Your predeceſſors were believ'd to aſſume this preeminence above their brethren only that they might appeaſe diſſention. Now God and the Church cals upon you, for the ſame reaſon to lay it down, as being to thouſands of good men offenſive, burdenſome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge which unleſſe you fowlely uſurpt it, the Church gave you, and now claimes it againe, for the reaſon ſhe firſt lent it. Diſcharge the truſt committed to you, prevent ſchiſme, and that ye can never do, but by diſcharging your ſelves. That government which ye hold, we confeſſe prevents much, hinders much, removes much; but what? the ſchiſms and grievances of the Church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the Church alone, but of the whole kingdome. And if it be ſtill permitted ye to hold, will cauſe the moſt ſad I know not whether ſeparation be anough to ſay, but ſuch a wide gulph of diſtraction in this land as will never cloſe her diſmall gap, untill ye be forc't (for of your ſelvs ye wil never do as that Roman *Curtius* nobly did) for the Churches peace and your countries, to leap into the midſt, and be no more ſeen. By this we ſhal know whether yours be that ancient Prelaty which you ſay was firſt conſtituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the Church, for then you wil not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwiſe, we muſt be confident that your Prelaty is nothing elſe but your ambition, an inſolent preferring of your ſelves above your brethren, and all your learned ſcraping in antiquity even to diſturbe the bones of old *Aaron* and his ſonnes in their graves, is but to

maintain and ſet upon our necks a ſtately and ſevere dignity, which you call ſacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverent gluttony, a ſanctimonious avarice, in compariſon of which, all the duties and dearneſſes which ye owe to God or to his Church, to law, cuſtome, or nature, ye have reſolv'd to ſet at nought. I could put you in mind what counſell *Clement* a fellow labourer with the Apoſtles gave to the Preſbyters of *Corinth*, whom the people though unjuſtly ſought to remove. Who among you ſaith he, is noble minded, who is pittifull, who is charitable, let him ſay thus, if for me this ſedition, this enmity, theſe differences be, I willingly depart, I go my wayes, only let the flock of Chriſt be at peace with the Preſbyters that are ſet over it. He that ſhall do this, ſaith he, ſhall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receave him. This was *Clements* counſell to good and holy men that they ſhould depart rather from their juſt office, then by their ſtay, to ravle out the ſeamleſſe garment of concord in the Church. But I have better counſell to give the Prelats, and farre more acceptable to their eares, this advice in my opinion is fitter for them. Cling faſt to your Pontificall Sees, bate not, quit your ſelves like Barons, ſtand to the utmoſt for your haughty Courts and votes in Parliament. Still tell us that you prevent ſchiſme, though ſchiſme and combuſtion be the very iſſue of your bodies, your firſt born; and ſet your country a bleeding in a Prelaticall mutiny, to fight for your pompe, and that ill favour'd weed of temporall honour that ſits diſhonourably upon your laick ſhoulders, that ye may be fat and fleſhy, ſwoln with high thoughts and big with miſchievous deſignes, when God comes to viſit upon you all this foreſcore yeares vexation of his Church under your Egyptian tyranny. For certainly of all thoſe bleſſed ſoules

which you have perſecuted, and thoſe miſerable ones which you have loſt, the juſt vengeance does not ſleepe.

CHAP. VII.

That thoſe many Sects and Schiſmes by ſome ſuppos'd to be among us, and that rebellion in Ireland, *ought not to be a hindrance, but a haſtning of reformation.*

AS for thoſe many Sects and diviſions rumor'd abroad to be amongſt us, it is not hard to perceave that they are partly the meere fictions and falſe alarmes of the Prelates, thereby to caſt amazements and panick terrors into the hearts of weaker Chriſtians that they ſhould not venture to change the preſent deformity of the Church for fear of I know not what worſe inconveniencies. With the ſame objected feares and ſuſpicions, we know that ſuttle Prelat *Gardner* ſought to divert the firſt reformation. It may ſuffice us to be taught by S. *Paull* that there muſt be ſects for the manifeſting of thoſe that are ſound hearted. Theſe are but winds and flaws to try the floting veſſell of our faith whether it be ſtanch and ſayl well, whether our ballaſt be juſt, our anchorage and cable ſtrong. By this is ſeene who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whoſe vertue is of an unchangeable graine, and whoſe of a ſlight waſh. If God come to trie our conſtancy we ought not to ſhrink, or ſtand the leſſe firmly for that, but paſſe on with more ſtedfaſt reſolution to eſtabliſh the truth though it were through a lane of ſects and hereſies on each ſide. Other things men do to the glory of God: but ſects and errors it ſeems God ſuffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted con-

ancy in the truth. Let us not therefore make these
ıings an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in
:forming, which God sends us as an incitement to
:oceed with more honour and alacrity. For if
ıere were no opposition where were the triall of an
ıfained goodnesse and magnanimity? vertue that
avers is not vertue, but vice revolted from it selfe,
ıd after a while returning. The actions of just
ıd pious men do not darken in their middle course;
ıt *Solomon* tels us they are as the shining light, that
ıineth more and more unto the perfet day. But if
e shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of
ıture sects to overcloud the faire beginnings of pur-
ɔs'st reformation, let us rather fear that another pro-
:rb of the same Wiseman be not upraided to us,
ıat the way of the wicked is as darknesse, they
umble at they know not what. If sects and schismes
: turbulent in the unsetl'd estate of a Church, while
lies under the amending hand, it best beseems our
hristian courage to think they are but as the throws
ıd pangs that go before the birth of reformation,
ıd that the work it selfe is now in doing. For if
e look but on the nature of elementall and mixt
ıings, we know they cannot suffer any change of
ıe kind, or quality into another without the struggl
f contrarieties. And in things artificiall, seldome
ıy elegance is wrought without a superfluous wast
ıd refuse in the transaction. No Marble statue can
: politely carv'd, no fair edifice built without al-
ıost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that
ren in the spirituall conflict of S. *Pauls* conversion
ıere fell scales from his eyes that were not perceav'd
efore. No wonder then in the reforming of a
:hurch which is never brought to effect without
ıe fierce encounter of truth and falshood together,
, as it were the splinters and shares of so violent a
ıusting, there fall from between the shock many

fond errors and fanatick opinions, which when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation ſhall be perfeted, will eaſily be rid out of the way, or kept ſo low, as that they ſhall be only the exerciſe of our knowledge, not the diſturbance, or interruption of our faith. As for that which *Barclay* in his image of minds writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Engliſhmen in their religion. I deeme it ſpoken like what hee was, a fugitive Papiſt traducing the Iland whence he ſprung. It may be more judiciouſly gather'd from hence, that the Engliſhman of many other nations is leaſt atheiſticall, and bears a naturall diſpoſition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but in his weakneſſe and want of better inſtruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, eſpecially by the meaner ſort, turning the bent of his own wits with a ſcrupulous and ceaſeleſſe care what he might do to informe himſelfe aright of God and his worſhip, he may fall not unlikely ſometimes as any other land man into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardlineſſe in the rough caſt without breeding, ſome nation or other may haply be better compos'd to a naturall civility, and right judgement then he. But if he get the benefit once of a wiſe and well rectifi'd nurture, which muſt firſt come in generall from the godly vigilance of the Church, I ſuppoſe that where ever mention is made of countries manners, or men, the Engliſh people among the firſt that ſhall be prais'd, may deſerve to be accounted a right pious, right honeſt, and right hardy nation. But thus while ſome ſtand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which ſhould mainly haſten them forward, leſt ſchiſm and error ſhould encreaſe, we may now thank our ſelves and our delayes if inſtead of ſchiſm a bloody and inhumane rebellion be ſtrook in between our ſlow movings. Indeed againſt violent

and powerfull oppoſition there can be no juſt blame of a lingring diſpatch. But this I urge againſt thoſe that diſcourſe it for a maxim, as if the ſwift opportunities of eſtabliſhing, or reforming religion, were to attend upon the fleam of ſtate buſineſſe. In ſtate many things at firſt are crude and hard to digeſt, which only time and deliberation can ſupple, and concoct. But in religion wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of ſeaſon, it goes farre otherwiſe. The doore of grace turnes upon ſmooth hinges wide opening to ſend out, but ſoon ſhutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation: which unleſſe Watchfulneſſe and Zeale two quick-ſighted and ready-handed Virgins be there in our behalfe to receave, we looſe: and ſtill the ofter we looſe, the ſtraiter the doore opens, and the leſſe is offer'd. This is all we get by demurring in Gods ſervice. Tis not rebellion that ought to be the hindrance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cauſe of that. The Prelats which boaſt themſelves the only bridlers of ſchiſme God knows have been ſo cold and backward both there and with us to repreſſe hereſie and idolatry, that either through their careleſſeneſſe or their craft all this miſchiefe is befaln. What can the Iriſh ſubject do leſſe in Gods juſt diſpleaſure againſt us, then revenge upon Engliſh bodies the little care that our Prelats have had of their ſouls. Nor hath their negligence been new in that Iland but ever notorious in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, as *Camden* their known friend forbears not to complain. Yet ſo little are they toucht with remorce of theſe their cruelties, for theſe cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of thoſe ſouls which they have famiſht, that whenas againſt our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyall deeds have now bought themſelves an honourable name to poſterity, whatſoever malice by ſlander could invent,

rage in hoſtility attempt, they greedily attempted, toward theſe murdrous Iriſh the enemies of God and mankind, a curſed off-ſpring of their own connivence, no man takes notice but that they ſeeme to be very calmely and indifferently affected. Where then ſhould we begin to extinguiſh a rebellion that hath his cauſe from the miſgovernment of the Church, where? but at the Churches reformation, and the removall of that government which perſues and warres with all good Chriſtians under the name of ſchiſmaticks, but maintains and foſters all Papiſts and Idolaters as tolerable Chriſtians. And if the ſacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witneſſe of God himſelfe, that the corrupted eſtate of the Church is both the cauſe of tumult, and civill warres, and that to ſtint them, the peace of the Church muſt firſt be ſetl'd. *Now for a long ſeaſon*, ſaith *Azariah* to King *Aſa*, *Iſrael hath beene without the true God, and without a teaching Prieſt, and without law: and in thoſe times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was deſtroy'd of nation, and City of City, for God did vex them with all adverſity. Be ye ſtrong therefore*, ſaith he to the reformers of that age, *and let not your hands be weake, for your worke ſhall bee rewarded.* And in thoſe Prophets that liv'd in the times of reformation after the Captivity often doth God ſtirre up the people to conſider that while eſtabliſhment of Church matters was neglected, and put off, there was *no peace to him that went out or came in, for I*, ſaith God, *had ſet all men every one againſt his neigbour.** But from the very day forward that they went ſerioufly, and effectually about the welfare of the Church,† he tels them that

* Zechar. 8. † Haggai 2.

they themſelves might perceave the ſudden change of things into a proſperous and peacefull condition. But it will here be ſaid that the reformation is a long work, and the miſeries of *Ireland* are urgent of a ſpeedy redreſſe. They be indeed; and how ſpeedy we are, the poore afflicted remnant of our martyr'd countrymen that ſit there on the Sea-ſhore, counting the houres of our delay with their ſighs, and the minuts with their falling teares, perhaps with the deſtilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time caſt off, and almoſt curſt the vain hope of our founder'd ſhips, and aids, can beſt judge how ſpeedy we are to their reliefe. But let their ſuccors be haſted, as all need and reaſon is, and let not therefore the reformation which is the chiefeſt cauſe of ſucceſſe and victory be ſtill procraſtinated. They of the captivity in their greateſt extremities could find both counſell and hands anough at once to build, and to expect the enemies aſſault. And we for our parts a populous and mighty nation muſt needs be faln into a ſtrange plight either of effeminacy, or confuſion, if *Ireland* that was once the conqueſt of one ſingle Earle with his privat forces, and the ſmall aſſiſtance of a petty Kerniſh Prince, ſhould now take up all the wiſdome and proweſſe of this potent Monarchy to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom if we take but the right courſe to ſubdue, that is beginning at the reformation of our Church, their own horrid murders and rapes will ſo fight againſt them, that the very ſutlers and horſe boyes of the Campe will be able to rout and chaſe them without the ſtaining of any Noble ſword. To proceed by other method in this enterprize, be our Captains and Commanders never ſo expert, will be as great an error in the art of warre, as any novice in ſouldierſhip ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the feare of ſects no

nor rebellion can be a fit plea to ſtay reformation, but rather to puſh it forward with all poſſible diligence and ſpeed.

The ſecond Book.

HOw happy were it for this frail, and as it may be truly call'd, mortall life of man, ſince all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily uſe, are withall ſo cumberſome and full of trouble, if knowledge yet which is the beſt and lightſomeſt poſſeſſion of the mind, were as the common ſaying is, no burden, and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavie advantage overlay upon the ſpirit. For not to ſpeak of that knowledge that reſts in the contemplation of naturall cauſes and dimenſions, which muſt needs be a lower wiſdom, as the object is low, certain it is that he who hath obtain'd in more then the ſcanteſt meaſure to know any thing diſtinctly of God, and of his true worſhip, and what is infallibly good and happy in the ſtate of mans life, what in it ſelfe evil and miſerable, though vulgarly not ſo eſteem'd, he that hath obtain'd to know this, the only high valuable wiſdom indeed, remembring alſo that God even to a ſtrictneſſe requires the improvment of theſe his entruſted gifts, cannot but ſuſtain a ſorer burden of mind, and more preſſing then any ſupportable toil, or waight, which the body can labour under; how and in what manner he ſhall diſpoſe and employ thoſe ſummes of knowledge and illumination, which God hath ſent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravats the burden more, is, that

having receiv'd amongſt his allotted parcels certain pretious truths of ſuch an orient luſtre as no Diamond can equall, which never the leſſe he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea for nothing to them that will, the great Marchants of this world fearing that this cours would ſoon diſcover, and diſgrace the fals glitter of their deceitfull wares wherewith they abuſe the people, like poor Indians with beads and glaſſes, practize by all means how they may ſuppreſſe the venting of ſuch rarities and ſuch a cheapnes as would undoe them, and turn their traſh upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt deſires of men in fleſhly doctrines, they ſtirre them up to perſecute with hatred and contempt all thoſe that ſeek to bear themſelves uprightly in this their ſpiritual factory: which they foreſeeing, though they cannot but teſtify of Truth and the excellence of that heavenly traffick which they bring, againſt what oppoſition, or danger ſoever, yet needs muſt it ſit heavily upon their ſpirits, that being in Gods prime intention and their own, ſelected heralds of peace, and diſpenſers of treaſure ineſtimable without price to them that have no pence, they finde in the diſcharge of their commiſſion that they are made the greateſt variance and offence, a very ſword and fire both in houſe and City over the whole earth. This is that which the ſad Prophet *Ieremiah* laments, *Wo is me my mother, that thou haſt born me a man of ſtrife, and contention.* And although divine inſpiration muſt certainly have been ſweet to thoſe ancient profets, yet the irkſomneſſe of that truth which they brought was ſo unpleaſant to them, that every where they call it a burden. Yea that myſterious book of Revelation which the great Evangeliſt was bid to eat, as it had been ſome eye-brightning electuary of knowledge, and foreſight, though it were ſweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his

belly; bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wiſe Poet *Sophocles*, who in that place of his Tragedy where *Tireſias* is call'd to reſolve K. *Edipus* in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more then other men. For ſurely to every good and peaceable man it muſt in nature needs be a hatefull thing to be the diſpleaſer, and moleſter of thouſands; much better would it like him doubtleſſe to be the meſſenger of gladnes and contentment, which is his chief intended buſines, to all mankind, but that they reſiſt and oppoſe their own true happineſſe. But when God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blaſt, it lies not in mans will what he ſhall ſay, or what he ſhall conceal. If he ſhall think to be ſilent, as *Ieremiah* did, becauſe of the reproach and deriſion he met with daily, and *all his familiar friends watcht for his halting* to be reveng'd on him for ſpeaking the truth, he would be forc't to confeſſe as he confeſt, *his word was in my heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones I was weary with forbearing, and could not ſtay*. Which might teach theſe times not ſuddenly to condemn all things that are ſharply ſpoken, or vehemently written, as proceeding out of ſtomach, virulence and ill nature, but to conſider rather that if the Prelats have leav to ſay the worſt that can be ſaid, and doe the worſt that can be don, while they ſtrive to keep to themſelves to their great pleaſure and commodity thoſe things which they ought to render up, no man can be juſtly offended with him that ſhall endeavour to impart and beſtow without any gain to himſelfe thoſe ſharp, but ſaving words which would be a terror, and a torment in him to keep back. For me I have determin'd to lay up as the beſt treaſure, and ſolace of a good old age, if God voutſafe it me, the honeſt liberty of free ſpeech from my youth, where I ſhall

think it available in ſo dear a concernment as the Churches good. For if I be either by diſpoſition, or what other cauſe too inquiſitive, or ſuſpitious of my ſelf and mine own doings, who can help it? but this I foreſee, that ſhould the Church be brought under heavy oppreſſion, and God have given me ability the while to reaſon againſt that man that ſhould be the author of ſo foul a deed, or ſhould ſhe by bleſſing from above on the induſtry and courage of faithfull men change this her diſtracted eſtate into better daies without the leſt furtherance or contribution of thoſe few talents which God at that preſent had lent me, I foreſee what ſtories I ſhould heare within my ſelfe, all my life after, of diſcourage and reproach. Timorous and ingratefull, the Church of God is now again at the foot of her inſulting enemies: and thou bewailſt, what matters it for thee or thy bewailing? when time was, thou couldſt not find a ſyllable of all that thou hadſt read, or ſtudied, to utter in her behalfe. Yet eaſe and leaſure was given thee for thy retired thoughts out of the ſweat of other men. Thou hadſt the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain ſubject were to be adorn'd or beautifi'd, but when the cauſe of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which purpoſe that tongue was given thee which thou haſt, God liſten'd if he could heare thy voice among his zealous ſervants, but thou wert domb as a beaſt; from hence forward be that which thine own brutiſh ſilence hath made thee. Or elſe I ſhould have heard on the other eare, ſlothfull, and ever to be ſet light by, the Church hath now overcom her late diſtreſſes after the unwearied labours of many her true ſervants that ſtood up in her defence; thou alſo wouldſt take upon thee to ſhare amongſt them of their joy: but wherefore thou? where canſt thou ſhew any word or deed of thine which might

have haſten'd her peace; what ever thou doſt now talke, or write, or look is the almes of other mens active prudence and zeale. Dare not now to ſay, or doe any thing better then thy former ſloth and infancy, or if thou darſt, thou doſt impudently to make a thrifty purchaſe of boldneſſe to thy ſelfe out of the painfull merits of other men: what before was thy ſin, is now thy duty to be, abject, and worthleſſe. Theſe and ſuch like leſſons as theſe, I know would have been my Matins duly, and my Even-ſong. But now by this litle diligence, mark what a privilege I have gain'd; with good men and Saints to clame my right of lamenting the tribulations of the Church, if ſhe ſhould ſuffer, when others that have ventur'd nothing for her ſake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if ſhe lift up her drooping head and proſper, among thoſe that have ſomething more then wiſht her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoycing to me and my heires. Concerning therefore this wayward ſubject againſt prelaty, the touching whereof is ſo diſtaſtfull and diſquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been ſaid I may deſerve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath enterd me upon this controverſy, but the enforcement of conſcience only, and a preventive fear leaſt the omitting of this duty ſhould be againſt me when I would ſtore up to my ſelf the good proviſion of peacefull hours, So leſt it ſhould be ſtill imputed to me, as I have found it hath bin, that ſome ſelf-pleaſing humor of vain-glory hath incited me to conteſt with men of high eſtimation, now while green yeers are upon my head, from this needleſſe ſurmiſall I ſhall hope to diſſwade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but ſay ſuccesfully that which in this exigent behoovs me, although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom

principally for a while I ſhal beg leav I may addreſſe my ſelfe. To him it will be no new thing though I tell him that if I hunted after praiſe by the oſtentation of wit and learning, I ſhould not write thus out of mine own ſeaſon, when I have neither yet compleated to my minde the full circle of my private ſtudies, although I complain not of any inſufficiency to the matter in hand, or were I ready to my wiſhes, it were a folly to commit any thing elaborately compos'd to the careleſſe and interrupted liſtening of theſe tumultuous times. Next if I were wiſe only to mine own ends, I would certainly take ſuch a ſubject as of it ſelf might catch applauſe, whereas this hath all the diſadvantages on the contrary, and ſuch a ſubject as the publiſhing whereof might be delayd at pleaſure, and time enough to pencill it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultleſſe picture, whenas in this argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good ſpeeding, that if ſolidity have leiſure to doe her office, art cannot have much. Laſtly, I ſhould not chuſe this manner of writing wherin knowing my ſelf inferior to my ſelf, led by the genial power of nature to another taſk, I have the uſe, as I may account it, but of my left hand. And though I ſhall be fooliſh in ſaying more to this purpoſe, yet ſince it will be ſuch a folly, as wiſeſt men going about to commit, have only confeſt and ſo committed, I may truſt with more reaſon, becauſe with more folly to have courteous pardon. For although a Poet ſoaring in the high region of his fancies with his garland and ſinging robes about him might without apology ſpeak more of himſelf then I mean to do, yet for me ſitting here below in the cool element of proſe, a mortall thing among many readers of no Empyreall conceit, to venture and divulge unuſual things of my ſelfe, I ſhall petition to

the gentler ſort, it may not be envy to me. I muſt ſay therefore that after I had from my firſt yeeres by the ceaſeleſſe diligence and care of my father, whom God recompence, bin exercis'd to the tongues, and ſome ſciences, as my age would ſuffer, by ſundry maſters and teachers both at home and at the ſchools, it was found that whether ought was impos'd me by them that had the overlooking, or betak'n to of mine own choiſe in Engliſh, or other tongue, proſing or verſing, but chiefly this latter, the ſtile by certain vital ſignes it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the privat Academies of *Italy*, whither I was favor'd to reſort, perceiving that ſome trifles which I had in memory, compos'd at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is that every one muſt give ſome proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was lookt for, and other things which I had ſhifted in ſcarſity of books and conveniences to patch up amongſt them, were receiv'd with written Encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to beſtow on men of this ſide the *Alps*, I began thus farre to aſſent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not leſſe to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent ſtudy (which I take to be my portion in this life) joyn'd with the ſtrong propenſity of nature, I might perhaps leave ſomething ſo written to aftertimes, as they ſhould not willingly let it die. Theſe thoughts at once poſſeſt me, and theſe other. That if I were certain to write as men buy Leaſes, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be ſooner had, then to Gods glory by the honour and inſtruction of my country. For which cauſe, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the ſecond rank among the Latines, I apply'd my ſelfe to that reſolution which *Arioſto* follow'd againſt the perſwaſions of *Bembo*, to

fix all the induſtry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curioſities the end, that were a toylſom vanity, but to be an interpreter and relater of the beſt and ſageſt things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect. That what the greateſt and choyceſt wits of *Athens*, *Rome*, or modern *Italy*, and thoſe Hebrews of old did for their country, I in my proportion with this over and above of being a Chriſtian, might doe for mine: not caring to be once nam'd abroad, though perhaps I could attaine to that, but content with theſe Britiſh Ilands as my world, whoſe fortune hath hitherto bin, that if the Athenians, as ſome ſay, made their ſmall deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, *England* hath had her noble atchievments made ſmall by the unſkilfull handling of monks and mechanicks.

Time ſervs not now, and perhaps I might ſeem too profuſe to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the ſpacious circuits of her muſing hath liberty to propoſe to her ſelf, though of higheſt hope, and hardeſt attempting, whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of *Homer*, and thoſe other two of *Virgil* and *Taſſo* are a diffuſe, and the book of *Iob* a brief model: or whether the rules of *Ariſtotle* herein are ſtrictly to be kept, or nature to be follow'd, which in them that know art, and uſe judgement is no tranſgreſſion, but an inriching of art. And laſtly what K. or Knight before the conqueſt might be choſen in whom to lay the pattern of a Chriſtian *Heroe*. And as *Taſſo* gave to a Prince of *Italy* his chois whether he would command him to write of *Godfreys* expedition againſt the infidels, or *Beliſarius* againſt the Gothes, or *Charlemain* againſt the Lombards; if to the inſtinct of nature and the imboldning of art ought may be truſted, and that there be nothing advers in our

climat, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashnesse from an equal diligence and inclination to present the like offer in our own ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatick constitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* raigne shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation, the Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral Drama in the Song of *Salomon* consisting of two persons and a double *Chorus*, as *Origen* rightly judges. And the Apocalyps of Saint *Iohn* is the majestick image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn Scenes and Acts with a sevenfold *Chorus* of halleluja's and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave autority of *Pareus* commenting that booke is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead to imitat those magnifick Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty: But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition may be easily made appear over all the kinds of Lyrick poesy, to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired guift of God rarely bestow'd, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every Nation: and are of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune, to celebrate in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of Gods Almightinesse, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his Church, to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious Nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ, to deplore the

general relapſes of Kingdoms and States from juſtice and Gods true worſhip. Laſtly, whatſoever in religion is holy and ſublime, in vertu amiable, or grave, whatſoever hath paſſion or admiration in all the changes of that which is call'd fortune from without, or the wily ſuttleties and refluxes of mans thoughts from within, all theſe things with a ſolid and treatable ſmoothneſſe to paint out and deſcribe. Teaching over the whole book of ſanctity and vertu through all the inſtances of example with ſuch delight to thoſe eſpecially of ſoft and delicious temper who will not ſo much as look upon Truth herſelfe, unleſſe they ſee her elegantly dreſt, that whereas the paths of honeſty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed eaſy and pleaſant, they would then appeare to all men both eaſy and pleaſant though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be ſoon gueſt by what we know of the corruption and bane which they ſuck in dayly from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant Poetaſters, who having ſcars ever heard of that which is the main conſiſtence of a true poem, the choys of ſuch perſons as they ought to introduce, and what is morall and decent to each one, doe for the moſt part lap up vitious principles in ſweet pils to be ſwallow'd down, and make the taſt of vertuous documents harſh and ſowr. But becauſe the ſpirit of man cannot demean it ſelfe lively in this body without ſome recreating intermiſſion of labour, and ſerious things, it were happy for the Common wealth, if our Magiſtrates, as in thoſe famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious Law caſes and brauls, but the managing of our publick ſports, and feſtival paſtimes, that they might be, not ſuch as were autoriz'd a while ſince, the provo-

cations of drunkenneſſe and luſt, but ſuch as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exerciſes to all warlike ſkil and performance, and may civilize, adorn and make diſcreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent Academies, and the procurement of wiſe and artfull recitations ſweetned with eloquent and gracefull inticements to the love and practice of juſtice, temperance and fortitude, inſtructing and bettering the Nation at all opportunities, that the call of wiſdom and vertu may be heard every where, as *Salomon* ſaith, *She crieth without, ſhe uttereth her voice in the ſtreets, in the top of high places, in the chief concours, and in the openings of the Gates.* Whether this may not be not only in Pulpits, but after another perſuaſive method, at ſet and ſolemn Paneguries, in Theaters, porches, or what other place, or way may win moſt upon the people to receiv at once both recreation, and inſtruction, let them in autority conſult. The thing which I had to ſay, and thoſe intentions which have liv'd within me ever ſince I could conceiv my ſelf any thing worth to my Countrie, I return to crave excuſe that urgent reaſon hath pluckt from me by an abortive and foredated diſcovery. And the accompliſhment of them lies not but in a power above mans to promiſe; but that none hath by more ſtudious ways endeavour'd, and with more unwearied ſpirit that none ſhall, that I dare almoſt averre of my ſelf, as farre as life and free leaſure will extend, and that the Land had once infranchis'd her ſelf from this impertinent yoke of prelaty, under whoſe inquiſitorius and tyrannical duncery no free and ſplendid wit can flouriſh. Neither doe I think it ſhame to covnant with any knowing reader, that for ſome few yeers yet I may go on truſt with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be rays'd from the heat of youth, or the vapours of

wine, like that which flows at waſt from the pen of ſome vulgar Amoriſt, or the trencher fury of a riming paraſite, nor to be obtain'd by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternall Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and ſends out his Seraphim with the hallow'd fire of his Altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleaſes: to this muſt be added induſtrious and ſelect reading, ſteddy obſervation, inſight into all ſeemly and generous arts and affaires, till which in ſome meaſure be compaſt, at mine own peril and coſt I refuſe not to ſuſtain this expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard ſo much credulity upon the beſt pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have diſclos'd thus much before hand, but that I truſt hereby to make it manifeſt with what ſmall willingneſſe I endure to interrupt the purſuit of no leſſe hopes then theſe, and leave a calme and pleaſing ſolitarynes fed with cherful and confident thoughts, to imbark in a troubl'd ſea of noiſes and hoars diſputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and ſtill air of delightfull ſtudies to come into the dim reflexion of hollow antiquities ſold by the ſeeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whoſe learning and beleif lies in marginal ſtuffings, who when they have like good ſumpters laid ye down their hors load of citations and fathers at your dore, with a rapſody of who and who were Biſhops here or there, ye may take off their packſaddles, their days work is don, and epiſcopacy, as they think, ſtoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehenſion that can diſtinguiſh learned pains from unlearned drudgery, imagin what pleaſure or profoundneſſe can be in this, or what honour to deal againſt ſuch adverſaries. But were it the meaneſt under-ſervice,

if God by his Secretary conſcience injoyn it, it were ſad for me if I ſhould draw back, for me eſpecially, now when all men offer their aid to help eaſe and lighten the difficult labours of the Church, to whoſe ſervice by the intentions of my parents and friends I was deſtin'd of a child, and in mine own reſolutions, till comming to ſome maturity of yeers and perceaving what tyranny had invaded the Church, that he who would take Orders muſt ſubſcribe ſlave, and take an oath withall, which unleſſe he took with a conſcience that would retch, he muſt either ſtrait perjure, or ſplit his faith, I thought it better to preferre a blameleſſe ſilence before the ſacred office of ſpeaking bought, and begun with ſervitude and forſwearing. Howſoever thus Church-outed by the Prelats, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in theſe matters, as before, the neceſſity and conſtraint appear'd.

CHAP. I.

That Prelaty *oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel three ways, and firſt in her outward form.*

AFter this digreſſion it would remain that I ſhould ſingle out ſome other reaſon which might undertake for Prelaty to be a fit and lawfull Church-government; but finding none of like validity with theſe that have alredy ſped according to their fortune, I ſhall adde one reaſon why it is not to be thought a Church-government at all, but a Church-tyranny, and is at hoſtile terms with the end and reaſon of Chriſts Evangelick miniſtery. Albeit I muſt confeſſe to be half in doubt whether I ſhould bring it forth or no, it being ſo contrary to the eye of the world, and the world ſo

potent in moſt mens hearts, that I ſhall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be underſtood. For who is ther almoſt that meaſures wiſdom by ſimplicity, ſtrength by ſuffering, dignity by lowlineſſe, who is there that counts it firſt, to be laſt, ſomthing to be nothing, and reckons himſelf of great command in that he is a ſervant? yet God when he meant to ſubdue the world and hell at once, part of that to ſalvation, and this wholy to perdition, made chois of no other weapons, or auxiliaries then theſe whether to ſave, or to deſtroy. It had bin a ſmall maiſtery for him, to have drawn out his Legions into array, and flankt them with his thunder; therefore he ſent Fooliſhnes to confute Wiſdom, Weaknes to bind Strength, Deſpiſednes to vanquiſh Pride. And this is the great miſtery of the Goſpel made good in Chriſt himſelf, who as he teſtifies came not to be miniſter'd to, but to miniſter; and muſt be fulfil'd in all his miniſters till his ſecond comming. To goe againſt theſe principles S. *Paul* ſo fear'd, that if he ſhould but affect the wiſdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the croſſe of Chriſt to be of none effect. Whether then Prelaty do not make of none effect the croſſe of Chriſt by the principles it hath ſo contrary to theſe, nullifying the power and end of the Goſpel, it ſhall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither ſhal I ſtand to trifle with one that will tell me of quiddities and formalities, whether Prelaty or Prelateity in abſtract notion be this or that, it ſuffices me that I find it in his ſkin, ſo I find it inſeparable, or not oftner otherwiſe then a Phenix hath bin ſeen; although I perſwade me that whatever faultines was but ſuperficial to Prelaty at the beginning, is now by the juſt judgment of God long ſince branded and inworn into the very eſſence therof. Firſt therefore, if to doe the

work of the Goſpel Chriſt our Lord took upon him the form of a ſervant, how can his ſervant in this miniſtery take upon him the form of a Lord? I know *Bilſon* hath decipher'd us all the galanteries of *Signore* and *Monſignore*, and *Monſieur* as circumſtantially as any punctualiſt of *Caſteel*, *Naples*, or *Fountain Bleau* could have don, but this muſt not ſo complement us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a ſervant was a mean, laborious and vulgar life apteſt to teach; which form Chriſt thought fitteſt, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles chooſing the meaner things of this world that he might put under the high. Now whether the pompous garb, the Lordly life, the wealth, the haughty diſtance of Prelaty be thoſe meaner things of the world, wherby God in them would manage the myſtery of his Goſpel, be it the verdit of common ſenſe. For Chriſt ſaith in S. *John*, *The ſervant is not greater then his Lord, nor he that is ſent greater then he that ſent him.* And addes, *If ye know theſe things, happy are ye if ye doe them.* Then let the prelates well adviſe, if they neither know, nor do theſe things, or if they know, and yet doe them not, wherin their happines conſiſts. And thus is the Goſpel fruſtrated by the Lordly form of Prelaty.

CHAP. II.

That the ceremonios doctrin of Prelaty oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel.

THat which next declares the heavenly power, and reveales the deep miſtery of the Goſpel, is the pure ſimplicity of doctrine, accounted the fooliſhnes of this world, yet croſſing and confounding the pride and

wiſdom of the fleſh. And wherin conſiſts this fleſhly wiſdom and pride? in being altogether ignorant of God and his worſhip? no ſurely, for men are naturally aſham'd of that. Where then? it conſiſts in a bold preſumption of ordering the worſhip and ſervice of God after mans own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wiſdom of the fleſh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt, but in that very point wherin it was proudeſt and thought it ſelf wiſeſt, that ſo the victory of the Goſpel might be the more illuſtrious. But our Prelats inſtead of expreſſing the ſpirituall power of their miniſtery by warring againſt this chief bulwark and ſtrong hold of the fleſh, have enter'd into faſt league with the principall enemy againſt whom they were ſent, and turn'd the ſtrength of fleſhly pride and wiſdom againſt the pure ſimplicity of ſaving truth. Firſt, miſtruſting to find the autority of their order in the immediat inſtitution of Chriſt, or his Apoſtles by the cleer evidence of Scripture, they fly to the carnal ſupportment of tradition: when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unweildy volumes of tradition. And doe not ſhame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal for the pervers iniquity of ſixteen hunderd yeers; chooſing rather to think truth it ſelf a lyar, then that ſixteen ages ſhould be taxt with an error; not conſidering the general apoſtaſy that was foretold, and the Churches flight into the wildernes. Nor is this anough, inſtead of ſhewing the reaſon of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they ſeek to prove their high pre-eminence from humane conſent and autority. But let them chaunt while they will of prerogatives, we ſhall tell them of Scripture; of cuſtom, we of Scripture; of Acts and Statutes, ſtil of Scripture, til the quick and pearcing word enter to the dividing of their ſoules, and the mighty

weaknes of the Goſpel throw down the weak mightines of mans reaſoning. Now for their demeanor within the Church, how have they disfigur'd and defac't that more then angelick brightnes, the unclouded ſerenity of Chriſtian Religion with the dark overcaſting of ſuperſtitious coaps and flaminical veſtures; wearing on their backs; and, I abhorre to think, perhaps in ſome worſe place the unexpreſſible Image of God the father. Tell me ye Prieſts wherfore this gold, wherfore theſe roabs and ſurplices over the Goſpel? is our religion guilty of the firſt treſpaſſe, and hath need of cloathing to cover her nakedneſſe? what does this elſe but caſt an ignominy upon the perfection of Chriſts miniſtery by ſeeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our ſhame. Beleive it, wondrous Doctors, all corporeal reſemblances of inward holineſſe and beauty are now paſt; he that will cloath the Goſpel now, intimates plainly, that the Goſpel is naked, uncomely, that I may not ſay reproachfull. Do not, ye Church-maſkers, while Chriſt is cloathing upon our barenes with his righteous garment to make us acceptable in his fathers ſight, doe not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted cloathing of your ceremonies to make it ſeem more decent in your own eyes. *How beautifull*, ſaith *Iſaiah*, *are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publiſheth ſalvation!* Are the feet ſo beautifull, and is the very bringing of theſe tidings ſo decent of it ſelf? what new decency then can be added to this by your ſpinſtry? ye think by theſe gaudy gliſterings to ſtirre up the devotion of the rude multitude; ye think ſo, becauſe ye forſake the heavenly teaching of S. *Paul* for the helliſh Sophiſtry of Papiſm. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the Preacher muſt give knowledge, and not ceremonies. And although ſome Chriſtians be new

born babes comparatively to ſome that are ſtronger, yet in reſpect of ceremony which is but a rudiment of the Law, the weakeſt Chriſtian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal rites. What childrens food there is in the Goſpel we know to be no other then the *ſincerity of the word that they may grow thereby.* But is heer the utmoſt of your outbraving the ſervice of God? No. Ye have bin bold, not to ſet your threſhold by his threſhold, or your poſts by his poſts, but your Sacrament, your ſigne, call it what you will, by his Sacrament, baptizing the Chriſtian infant with a ſolemne ſprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger: as if when ye had layd the purifying element upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and croſſe it out again with a caracter not of Gods bidding. O but the innocence of theſe ceremonies! O rather the ſottiſh abſurdity of this excuſe! what could be more innocent then the waſhing of a cup, a glaſſe, or hands before meat, and that under the Law when ſo many waſhings were commanded, and by long tradition, yet our Saviour deteſted their cuſtomes, though never ſo ſeeming harmleſſe, and charges them ſeverely that they had tranſgreſt the Commandments of God by their traditions and worſhipt him in vain. How much more then muſt theſe, and much groſſer ceremonies now in force delude the end of Chriſts comming in the fleſh againſt the fleſh, and ſtifle the ſincerity of our new cov'nant which hath bound us to forſake all carnall pride and wiſdom eſpecially in matters of religion. Thus we ſee again how Prelaty ſayling in oppoſition to the main end and power of the Goſpel doth not joyn in that miſterious work of Chriſt, by lowlines to confound height, by ſimplicity of doctrin the wiſdom of the world, but contrariwiſe hath made it ſelf high in the world and

the fleſh to vanquiſh things by the world accounted low, and made it ſelf wiſe in tradition and fleſhly ceremony to confound the purity of doctrin which is the wiſdom of God.

CHAP. III.

That Prelatical juriſdiction oppoſeth the reaſon and end of the Goſpel and of State.

THe third and laſt conſideration remains, whether the Prelats in their function doe work according to the Goſpel practizing to ſubdue the mighty things of this world by things weak: which S. *Paul* hath ſet forth to be the power and excellence of the Goſpel, or whether in more likelihood they band themſelves with the prevalent things of this world to overrun the weak things which Chriſt hath made chois to work by: and this will ſooneſt be diſcern'd by the cours of their juriſdiction. But heer again I find my thoughts almoſt in ſuſpenſe betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may beſt retire, and not proceed in this ſubject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixt me too attentively to come thus farre. For Truth, I know not how, hath this unhappineſſe fatall to her, ere ſhe can come to the triall and inſpection of the Underſtanding, being to paſſe through many little wards and limits of the ſeverall Affections and Deſires, ſhe cannot ſhift it, but muſt put on ſuch colours and attire, as thoſe Pathetick handmaids of the ſoul pleaſe to lead her in to their Queen. And if ſhe find ſo much favour with them, they let her paſſe in her own likeneſſe; if not, they bring her into the preſence habited and colour'd like a notorious Falſhood. And contrary

when any Falſhood comes that way, if they like the errand ſhe brings, they are ſo artfull to counterfeit the very ſhape and viſage of Truth, that the Underſtanding not being able to diſcern the fucus which theſe inchantreſſes with ſuch cunning have laid upon the feature ſometimes of Truth, ſometimes of Falſhood interchangeably, ſentences for the moſt part one for the other at the firſt bluſh, according to the ſuttle impoſture of theſe ſenſual miſtreſſes that keep the ports and paſſages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already ſaid, I ſhould goe neer to relinquiſh that which is to follow. And becauſe I ſee that moſt men, as it happens in this world, either weakly, or falſly principl'd, what through ignorance, and what through cuſtom of licence, both in diſcours and writing, by what hath bin of late written in vulgar, have not ſeem'd to attain the deciſion of this point, I ſhall likewiſe aſſay thoſe wily Arbitreſſes who in moſt men have, as was heard, the ſole uſhering of Truth and Falſhood between the ſenſe, and the ſoul, with what loyalty they will uſe me in conuoying this Truth to my underſtanding; the rather for that by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I doe not find them engag'd either one way or other. Concerning therfore eccleſial juriſdiction, I find ſtill more controverſie, who ſhould adminiſter it, then diligent enquiry made to learn what it is, for had the pains bin taken to ſearch out that, it had bin long agoe enroul'd to be nothing els but a pure tyrannical forgery of the Prelats; and that juriſdictive power in the Church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceiv'd that what men now call juriſdiction in the Church, ſhould be other thing then a Chriſtian cenſorſhip; and therefore is it moſt commonly and truly nam'd eccleſiaſtical cenſure.

Now if the Roman cenſor a civil function, to that ſevere aſſiſe of ſurvaying and controuling the priveteſt, and flieſt manners of all men and all degrees had no juriſdiction, no courts of plea, or inditement, no punitive force annext, whether it were that to this manner of correction the intanglement of ſuits was improper, or that the notice of thoſe upright Inquiſitors extended to ſuch the moſt covert and ſpiritous vices as would ſlip eaſily between the wider and more material graſp of Law; Or that it ſtood more with the Majeſty of that office to have no other Serjeants or maces about them but thoſe inviſible ones of Terror and ſhame: Or laſtly, were it their feare, leſt the greatnes of this autority and honour arm'd with juriſdiction might ſtep with eaſe into a tyranny. In all theſe reſpects with much more reaſon undoubtedly ought the cenſure of the Church be quite deveſted and diſintal'd of all juriſdiction whatſoever. For if the cours of judicature to a political cenſorſhip ſeem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the diſcipline of Church whoſe definitive decrees are to be ſpeedy, but the execution of rigour ſlow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is moſt uſual, and by how much the leſſe contentious it is, by ſo much will it be the more Chriſtian. And if the cenſor in his morall epiſcopy being to judge moſt in matters not anſwerable by writ or action could not uſe an inſtrument ſo groſſe and bodily as juriſdiction is, how can the miniſter of Goſpel manage the corpulent and ſecular trial of bill and proceſſe in things meerly ſpiritual. Or could that Roman office without this juridical ſword or ſaw ſtrike ſuch a reverence of it ſelf into the moſt undaunted hearts, as with one ſingle daſh of ignominy to put all the Senate and Knighthood of *Rome* into a tremble, ſurely much rather might the heavenly miniſtery of the Evangel

bind her ſelf about with farre more pearcing beams of Majeſty and aw by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amercements in the uſe of her powerful Keies. For when the Church without temporal ſupport is able to doe her great works upon the unforc't obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when ſhe thinks to credit and better her ſpirituall efficacy, and to win her ſelf reſpect and dread by ſtrutting in the fals viſard of worldly autority, tis evident that God is not there; but that her apoſtolick vertu is departed from her, and hath left her *Key-cold.* Which ſhe perceaving as in a decay'd nature ſeeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help, and external flouriſhes, to fetch, if it be poſſible, ſome motion into her extream parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and arteficial heat of juriſdiction. But it is obſervable that ſo long as the Church in true imitation of Chriſt can be content to ride upon an Aſſe carrying her ſelf and her government along in a mean and ſimple guiſe, ſhe may be as he is, a Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, and in her humility all men with loud Hoſanna's will confeſſe her greatnes. But when deſpiſing the mighty operation of the ſpirit by the weak things of this world ſhe thinks to make her ſelf bigger and more conſiderable by uſing the way of civil force and juriſdiction, as ſhe ſits upon this Lion ſhe changes into an Aſſe, and inſtead of Hoſanna's every man pelts her with ſtones and dirt. Laſtly, if the wiſdom of the Romans fear'd to commit juriſdiction to an office of ſo high eſteem and dred as was the cenſors, we may ſee what a ſoleciſm in the art of policy it hath bin all this while through Chriſtendom to give juriſdiction to eccleſiaſtical Cenſure. For that ſtrength joyn'd with religion abus'd and pretended to ambitious ends muſt of neceſſity breed the heavieſt and moſt quelling tyranny not

only upon the necks, but even to the ſouls of men: which if Chriſtian *Rome* had bin ſo cautelous to prevent in her Church, as Pagan *Rome* was in her ſtate, we had not had ſuch a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Chriſtendom. For although I ſaid before that the Church coveting to ride upon the Lionly form of juriſdiction makes a transformation of her ſelf into an Aſſe, and becomes deſpicable, that is to thoſe whom God hath enlight'nd with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the reliques of ſuperſtition, this is the extremity of their bondage, and blindnes, that while they think they doe obeiſance to the Lordly viſage of a Lion, they doe it to an aſſe, that through the juſt judgement of God is permitted to play the dragon among them becauſe of their wilfull ſtupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, leſt by leaving juriſdiction and Church cenſure to the ſame perſons, now that God hath bin ſo long medcining her eyeſight, ſhe doe not with her overpolitick fetches marre all, and bring her ſelf back again to worſhip this Aſſe beſtriding a Lion. Having hitherto explain'd, that to eccleſiaſticall cenſure no juriſdictive power can be added without a childiſh and dangerous overſight in polity, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelick diſcipline, as anon more fully; it will be next to declare wherin the true reaſon and force of Church cenſure conſiſts, which by then it ſhall be laid open to the root, ſo little is it that I fear leſt any crookednes, any wrincle or ſpot ſhould be found in preſbyterial government, that if *Bodin* the famous French writer though a papiſt, yet affirms that the Commonwelth which maintains this diſcipline will certainly flouriſh in vertu and piety, I dare aſſure my ſelf that every true proteſtant will admire the integrity, the uprightnes, the divine and gracious purpoſes therof, and even

for the reaſon of it ſo coherent with the doctrine of the Goſpel, beſides the evidence of command in Scripture, will confeſſe it to be the only true Church-government, and that contrary to the whole end and miſtery of Chriſts comming in the fleſh a falſe appearance of the ſame is exercis'd by Prelaty. But becauſe ſome count it rigorous, and that hereby men ſhall be liable to a double puniſhment, I will begin ſomwhat higher and ſpeak of puniſhment. Which, as it is an evil, I eſteem to be of two ſorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobat conſcience in this life, and hell in the other world. Whatever elſe men call puniſhment, or cenſure is not properly an evil, ſo it be not an illegall violence, but a ſaving med'cin ordain'd of God both for the publik and privat good of man, who conſiſting of two parts the inward and the outward, was by the eternall providence left under two ſorts of cure, the Church and the Magiſtrat. The Magiſtrat hath only to deale with the outward part, I mean not of the body alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts, which in Scripture is call'd the outward man. So that it would be helpfull to us if we might borrow ſuch autority as the Rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean ſkill to ſhape and faſhion this outward man into the ſimilitude of a body, and ſet him viſible before us; imagining the inner man only as the ſoul. Thus then the civill Magiſtrat looking only upon the outward man (I ſay as a Magiſtrat, for what he doth further, he doth it as a member of the Church) if he find in his complexion, ſkin, or outward temperature the ſignes and marks, or in his doings the effects of injuſtice, rapine, luſt, cruelty, or the like, ſometimes he ſhuts up as in frenetick, or infectious diſeaſes; or confines within dores, as in every ſickly eſtate. Sometimes he ſhaves by penalty, or mulct, or els to cool and

take down thoſe luxuriant humors which wealth and exceſſe have caus'd to abound. Otherwhiles he ſeres, he cauterizes, he ſcarifies, lets blood, and finally for utmoſt remedy cuts off. The patients which moſt an end are brought into his hoſpital are ſuch as are farre gon, and beſide themſelves (unleſſe they be falſly accus'd) ſo that force is neceſſary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more human cure. His general end is the outward peace and wel-fare of the Commonwealth and civil happines in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, dammage, and diſgrace, that the ſenſes and common perceivance might carry this meſſage to the ſoul within, that it is neither eaſefull, profitable, nor praiſworthy in this life to doe evill. Which muſt needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die; and be undoubtedly the firſt means to a natural man, eſpecially an offender, which might open his eyes to a higher conſideration of good and evill, as it is taught in religion. This is ſeen in the often penitence of thoſe that ſuffer, who, had they ſcapt, had gon on ſinning to an immeaſurable heap, which is one of the extreameſt puniſhments. And this is all that the civil Magiſtrat, as ſo being, confers to the healing of mans mind, working only by terrifying plaiſters upon the rind and orifice of the ſore, and by all outward appliances, as the Logicians ſay, a poſteriori, at the effect, and not from the cauſe: not once touching the inward bed of corruption, and that hectick diſpoſition to evill, the ſourſe of all vice, and obliquity againſt the rule of Law. Which how inſufficient it is to cure the ſoul of man, we cannot better gueſſe then by the art of bodily phiſick. Therfore God to the intent of further healing mans deprav'd mind, to this power of the Magiſtrat which contents it ſelf with the reſtraint

of evil doing in the external man, added that which we call cenſure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmoſt ſoul. In the beginning this autority ſeems to have bin plac't, as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of family. Afterwards among the heathen, in the wiſe men and Philoſophers of the age; but ſo as it was a thing voluntary, and no ſet government. More diſtinctly among the Jews as being Gods peculiar, where the Prieſts, Levites, Profets, and at laſt the Scribes and Phariſes took charge of inſtructing, and overſeeing the lives of the people. But in the Goſpel, which is the ſtraiteſt and the deareſt cov'nant can be made between God and man, wee being now his adopted ſons, and nothing fitter for us to think on, then to be like him, united to him, and as he pleaſes to expreſſe it, to have fellowſhip with him, it is all neceſſity that we ſhould expect this bleſt efficacy of healing our inward man to be miniſter'd to us in a more familiar and effectual method then ever before. God being now no more a judge after the ſentence of the Law, nor as it were a ſchoolmaiſter of periſhable rites, but a moſt indulgent father governing his Church as a family of ſons in their diſcreet age; and therfore in the ſweeteſt and mildeſt manner of paternal diſcipline he hath committed this other office of preſerving in healthful conſtitution the innerman, which may be term'd the ſpirit of the ſoul, to his ſpiritual deputy the miniſter of each Congregation; who being beſt acquainted with his own flock, hath beſt reaſon to know all the ſecreteſt diſeaſes likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble then the external, by ſo much is his cure more exactly, more throughly, and more particularly to be perform'd. For which cauſe the holy Ghoſt by the Apoſtles joyn'd to the miniſter, as aſſiſtant in this great office ſometimes a

certain number of grave and faithful brethren, (for neither doth the phiſitian doe all in reſtoring his patient, he preſcribes, another prepares the med'cin, ſome tend, ſome watch, ſome viſit) much more may a miniſter partly not ſee all, partly erre as a man: beſides that nothing can be more for the mutuall honour and love of the people to their Paſtor, and his to them, then when in ſelect numbers and courſes they are ſeen partaking, and doing reverence to the holy duties of diſcipline by their ſerviceable, and ſolemn preſence, and receiving honour again from their imployment, not now any more to be ſeparated in the Church by vails and partitions as laicks and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightfull Clergy of Chriſt, a choſen generation, a royal Prieſthood to offer up ſpiritual ſacrifice in that meet place to which God and the Congregation ſhall call and aſſigne them. And this all Chriſtians ought to know, that the title of Clergy S. *Peter* gave to all Gods people, till Pope *Higinus* and the ſucceeding Prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themſelves and their Prieſts only; and condemning the reſt of Gods inheritance to an injurious and alienat condition of Laity, they ſeparated from them by local partitions in Churches, through their groſſe ignorance and pride imitating the old temple: and excluded the members of Chriſt from the property of being members, the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the eccleſiaſtical body, as if they had meant to ſow up that Jewiſh vail which Chriſt by his death on the Croſſe rent in ſunder. Although theſe uſurpers could not ſo preſently over-maiſter the liberties and lawfull titles of Gods freeborn Church, but that *Origen* being yet a lay man expounded the Scriptures publickly, and was therein defended by *Alexander* of Jeruſalem, and *Theoctiſtus* of Cæſarea pro-

ducing in his behalf divers examples that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy Laymen; And *Cyprian* in his Epiſtles profeſſes he will doe nothing without the advice and aſſent of his aſſiſtant Laicks. Neither did the firſt Nicene councel, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and preſence of many learned lay brethren, as they were then calld. Many other autorities to confirm this aſſertion both out of Scripture and the writings of next antiquity *Golartius* hath collected in his notes upon *Cyprian;* whereby it will be evident that the Laity not only by Apoſtolick permiſſion, but by conſent of many the ancienteſt Prelates did participat in Church offices as much as is deſir'd any lay Elder ſhould now do. Sometimes alſo not the Elders alone, but the whole body of the Church is intereſted in the work of diſcipline, as oft as publick ſatisfaction is given by thoſe that have given publick ſcandal. Not to ſpeak now of her right in elections. But another reaſon there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet morall and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in Philoſophy, that ſhame or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren, and friends was the greateſt incitement to vertuous deeds and the greateſt diſſuaſion from unworthy attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad where *Hector* being wiſht to retire from the battel, many of his forces being routed, makes anſwer that he durſt not for ſhame, leſt the Trojan Knights and Dames ſhould think he did ignobly. And certain it is that wheras Terror is thought ſuch a great ſtickler in a Commonwealth, honourable ſhame is a farre greater, and has more reaſon. For where ſhame is there is fear, but where fear is there is not preſently ſhame. And if any thing may be done to

inbreed in us this generous and Chriſtianly reverence one of another, the very Nurs and Guardian of piety and vertue, it can not ſooner be then by ſuch a diſcipline in the Church, as may uſe us to have in aw the aſſemblies of the faithful, and to count it a thing moſt grievous, next to the grieving of Gods Spirit, to offend thoſe whom he hath put in autority, as a healing ſuperintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happines and that we may not give offence to good men, who without amends by us made, dare not againſt Gods command hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dred of being outcaſt from the company of Saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his Church, to conſort with the devil and his angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honeſt ſhame, or call it if you will an eſteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own perſons. And if the love of God as a fire ſent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altar of our hearts, be the firſt principle of all godly and vertuous actions in men, this pious and juſt honouring of our ſelves is the ſecond, and may be thought as the radical moiſture and fountain head, whence every laudable and worthy enterprize iſſues forth. And although I have giv'n it the name of a liquid thing, yet is it not incontinent to bound it ſelf, as humid things are, but hath in it a moſt reſtraining and powerfull abſtinence to ſtart back, and glob it ſelf upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeſeeming motion, or any ſoile wherewith it may peril to ſtain it ſelf. Something I confeſſe it is to be aſham'd of evil doing in the preſence of any, and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather then a bad, fearing moſt in his ſight to offend, goes ſo farre as almoſt to be ver-

tuous; yet this is but ſtill the feare of infamy, and many ſuch, when they find themſelves alone, ſaving their reputation will compound with other ſcruples, and come to a cloſe treaty with their dearer vices in ſecret. But he that holds himſelf in reverence and due eſteem, both for the dignity of Gods image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is viſibly markt upon his forehead, accounts himſelfe both a fit perſon to do the nobleſt and godlieſt deeds, and much better worth then to deject and defile, with ſuch a debaſement and ſuch a pollution as ſin is, himſelfe ſo highly ranſom'd and enobl'd to a new friendſhip and filiall relation with God. Nor can he fear ſo much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would bluſh at the reflection of his own ſevere and modeſt eye upon himſelfe, if it ſhould ſee him doing or imagining that which is ſinfull though in the deepeſt ſecrecy. How ſhall a man know to do himſelfe this right, how to performe this honourable duty of eſtimation and reſpect towards his own ſoul and body? which way will leade him beſt to this hill top of ſanctity and goodneſſe above which there is no higher aſcent but to the love of God which from this ſelf-pious regard cannot be aſſunder? no better way doubtleſſe then to let him duly underſtand that as he is call'd by the high calling of God to be holy and pure, ſo is he by the ſame appointment ordain'd, and by the Churches call admitted to ſuch offices of diſcipline in the Church to which his owne ſpirituall gifts by the example of Apoſtolick inſtitution have autoriz'd him. For we have learnt that the ſcornfull terme of Laick, the conſecrating of Temples, carpets, and table-clothes, the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive Mount Sinai in the Goſpell, as if the touch of a lay Chriſtian who is never the leſſe Gods living temple, could profane

dead judaiſms, the excluſion of Chriſts people from the offices of holy diſcipline through the pride of a uſurping Clergy, cauſes the reſt to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themſelves; to approach to holy duties with a ſlaviſh fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldneſſe. For ſeeing ſuch a wide and terrible diſtance between religious things and themſelves, and that in reſpect of a woodden table and the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flagon pot, and a linnen corporal, the Prieſt eſteems their lay-ſhips unhallow'd and unclean, they fear religion with ſuch a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the Goſpell too pure for them, and that any uncleanneſſe is more ſutable to their unconſecrated eſtate. But when every good Chriſtian throughly acquainted with all thoſe glorious privileges of ſanctification and adoption which render him more ſacred then any dedicated altar or element, ſhall be reſtor'd to his right in the Church, and not excluded from ſuch place of ſpirituall government as his Chriſtian abilities and his approved good life in the eye and teſtimony of the Church ſhall preferre him to, this and nothing ſooner will open his eyes to a wiſe and true valuation of himſelfe, which is ſo requiſite and high a point of Chriſtianity, and will ſtirre him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave imployment wherewith God and the Church hath dignifi'd him: not fearing leſt he ſhould meet with ſome outward holy thing in religion which his lay touch or preſence might profane, but leſt ſomething unholy from within his own heart ſhould diſhonour and profane in himſelfe that Prieſtly unction and Clergy-right whereto Chriſt hath entitl'd him. Then would the congregation of the Lord ſoone recover the true likeneſſe and viſage of what ſhe is indeed, a holy generation, a royall Prieſthood, a Saintly communion, the houſhold and City of God. And this I hold to

be another conſiderable reaſon why the functions of Church-government ought to be free and open to any Chriſtian man though never ſo laick, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour commend him. And this the Apoſtles warrant us to do. But the Prelats object that this will bring profaneneſſe into the Church, to whom may be reply'd, that none have brought that in more then their own irreligious courſes; nor more driven holineſſe out of living into liveleſſe things. For whereas God who hath cleans'd every beaſt and creeping worme, would not ſuffer S. *Peter* to call them common or unclean, the Prelat Biſhops in their printed orders hung up in Churches have proclaim'd the beſt of creatures, mankind, ſo unpurifi'd and contagious, that for him to lay his hat, or his garment upon the Chancell table they have defin'd it no leſſe hainous in expreſſe words then to profane the Table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitiſh doctrine (for that which was to the Jew but jewiſh is to the Chriſtian no better then Canaanitiſh) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made profane that nature which God hath not only cleans'd, but Chriſt alſo hath aſſum'd. And now that the equity and juſt reaſon is ſo perſpicuous, why in Eccleſiaſtick cenſure the aſſiſtance ſhould be added of ſuch, as whom not the vile odour of gaine and fees (forbid it God and blow it with a whirlewinde out of our land) but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to Church-government hath call'd together, where could a wiſeman wiſh a more equall, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence that he might happen to commit againſt Chriſtianity then here? would he preferre thoſe proud ſimoniacall Courts? Thus therefore the Miniſter aſſiſted attends his heavenly and ſpirituall, cure. Where we ſhall ſee him both in the courſe of his proceeding, and firſt in the excellence of his end from the magiſ-

trate farre different, and not more different then excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man both ſoul and body to an everlaſting health: and yet as for worldly happineſſe, which is the proper ſphere wherein the magiſtrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from law, ſo little aims the Miniſter, as his intended ſcope, to procure the much proſperity of this life, that oft-times he may have cauſe to wiſh much of it away, as a diet puffing up the ſoul with a ſlimy fleſhineſſe, and weakning her principall organick parts. Two heads of evill he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Againſt the former he provides the daily Manna of incorruptible doctrine, not at thoſe ſet meales only in publick, but as oft as he ſhall know that each infirmity, or conſtitution requires. Againſt the latter with all the branches thereof, not medling with that reſtraining and ſtyptick ſurgery which the law uſes, not indeed againſt the malady but againſt the eruptions, and outermoſt effects thereof. He on the contrary beginning at the prime cauſes and roots of the diſeaſe ſends in thoſe two divine ingredients of moſt cleanſing power to the ſoul, Admonition and Reproof, beſides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments are but vain, unleſſe by accident. And he that will not let theſe paſſe into him, though he be the greateſt King, as *Plato* affirms, muſt be thought to remaine impure within, and unknowing of thoſe things wherein his pureneſſe and his knowledge ſhould moſt appear. As ſoon therefore as it may be diſcern'd that the Chriſtian patient by feeding otherwhere on meats not allowable, but of evill juice, hath diſorder'd his diet, and ſpread an ill humour through his vains immediatly diſpoſing to a ſickneſſe, the miniſter as being much neerer both in eye and duty, then the magiſtrate, ſpeeds

m betimes to overtake that diffus'd malignance ith ſome gentle potion of admoniſhment; or if ıght be obſtructed, puts in his opening and diſcuſ- ʼe confections. This not ſucceeding after once or ʼice or oftner, in the preſence of two or three his ithfull brethren appointed thereto he adviſes him be more carefull of his dearest health, and what is that he ſo raſhly hath let down in to the divine ſſel of his ſoul Gods temple. If this obtaine not, then with the counſell of more aſſiſtants who are form'd of what diligence hath been already us'd, ith more ſpeedy remedies layes neerer ſiege to the ıtrenched cauſes of his diſtemper, not ſparing ſuch rvent and well aim'd reproofs as may beſt give him ſee the dangerous eſtate wherein he is. To this ſo his brethren and friends intreat, exhort, adjure, ıd all theſe endeavours, as there is hope left, are ore or leſſe repeated. But if, neither the regard himſelfe, nor the reverence of his Elders and ends prevaile with him, to leave his vitious appe- e, then as the time urges, ſuch engines of terror od hath given into the hand of his miniſter as to arch the tendereſt angles of the heart: one while ſhakes his ſtubbornneſſe with racking convulſions gh diſpaire, other whiles with deadly corroſives he ipes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him life through the entry of death. Hereto the hole Church beſeech him, beg of him, deplore m, pray for him. After all this perform'd with hat patience and attendance is poſſible, and no re- nting on his part, having done the utmoſt of their ıre, in the name of God and of the Church they ſſolve their fellowſhip with him, and holding forth e dreadfull ſponge of excommunion pronounce m wip't out of the liſt of Gods inheritance, and in e cuſtody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid ntence though it touch neither life, nor limme,

nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter then any chimicall sulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrals, it scorches the inmost soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the Church for no other cause but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medcin, where the malady is obdurat; a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, so the cruelties of the Church are mercies. For if repentance sent from heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hasting towards destruction, to come and reconcile to the Church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now cleare of infection and of no danger to the other sheep, then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed bankets of Christian consolation; with pretious ointments bathing and fomenting the old and now to be forgotten stripes which terror and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly solaces they cheere up his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity. This is the approved way which the Gospell prescribes, these are the *spirituall weapons of holy censure*, and ministeriall *warfare, not carnall, but mighty through God to the pulling downe of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it selfe against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.** What could be done more for the healing and reclaming that divine particle of Gods breathing, the soul, and what could be done lesse? he that would hide his faults from such a wholsome curing as this, and count it a two-

* 2 Cor. 10.

ſold puniſhment, as ſome do, is like a man that having foul diſeaſes about him, periſhes for ſhame, and the fear he has of a rigorous inciſion to come upon his fleſh. We ſhall be able by this time to diſcern whether Prelaticall juriſdiction be contrary to the Goſpell or no. Firſt therefore the government of the Goſpell being economicall and paternall, that is, of ſuch a family where there be no ſervants, but all ſons in obedience, not in ſervility, as cannot be deny'd by him that lives but within the ſound of Scripture, how can the Prelates juſtifie to have turn'd the fatherly orders of Chriſts houſhold, the bleſſed meekneſſe of his lowly roof, thoſe ever open and inviting dores of his dwelling houſe which delight to be frequented with only filiall acceſſes, how can they juſtifie to have turn'd theſe domeſtick privileges into the barre of a proud judiciall court where fees and clamours keep ſhop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption ſolicits, paltring the free and monileſſe power of diſcipline with a carnall ſatisfaction by the purſe. Contrition, humiliation, confeſſion, the very ſighs of a repentant ſpirit are there ſold by the penny. That undeflour'd and unblemiſhable ſimplicity of the Goſpell, not ſhe her ſelfe, for that could never be, but a falſe-whited, a lawnie reſemblance of her, like that aire-born *Helena* in the fables, made by the ſorcery of Prelats, inſtead of calling her Diſciples from the receit of cuſtome, is now turn'd Publican her ſelf; and gives up her body to a mercenary whordome under thoſe fornicated arches which ſhe cals Gods houſe, and in the ſight of thoſe her altars which ſhe hath ſet up to be ador'd makes merchandize of the bodies and ſouls of men. Rejecting purgatory for no other reaſon, as it ſeems, then becauſe her greedines cannot deferre but had rather uſe the utmoſt extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But becauſe theſe matters could not be

thus carri'd without a begg'd and borrow'd force from worldly autority, therefore prelaty slighting the deliberat and chosen counsell of Christ in his spirituall government, whose glory is in the weaknesse of fleshly things to tread upon the crest of the worlds pride and violence by the power of spirituall ordinances, hath on the contrary made these her freinds and champions which are Christs enemies in this his high designe, smothering and extinguishing the spirituall force of his bodily weaknesse in the discipline of his Church with the boistrous and carnall tyranny of an undue, unlawfull and ungospellike jurisdiction. And thus Prelaty both in her fleshly supportments, in her carnall doctrine of ceremonie and tradition, in her violent and secular power going quite counter to the prime end of Christs comming in the flesh, that is to revele his truth, his glory and his might in a clean contrary manner then Prelaty seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mistery of God, I do not conclude that Prelaty is Antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conclude it. Yet if such like practises, and not many worse then these of our Prelats, in that great darknesse of the Roman Church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judg'd to be Antichristian in all orthodoxall esteeme, I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of truth and all her children to pronounce this Prelaty, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great light wherein we live, to be more Antichristian then Antichrist himselfe.

The Conclusion.

The mischiefe that Prelaty does in the State.

I Adde one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of Prelaty, this is certain that the Gospell being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, hath ever a victorious power joyn'd with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white Horse with his bow and his crown conquering, and to conquer. If we let the Angell of the Gospell ride on his own way, he does his proper businesse conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the salvation of many souls. But if ye turn him out of his rode, and in a manner force him to expresse his irresistible power by a doctrine of carnall might, as Prelaty is, he will use that fleshly strength which ye put into his hands to subdue your spirits by a servile and blind superstition, and that againe shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiat greedinesse and force upon your worldly wealth and power wherewith to deck and magnifie her self, and her false worships, she shall spoil and havock your estates, disturbe your ease, diminish your honour, inthraul your liberty under the swelling mood of a proud Clergy, who will not serve or feed your soules with spirituall food, look not for it, they have not wherewithall, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ingratefull bodies, at least if it be possible that those open sepulchers should ever be glutted, and when they have stufft their Idolish temples with the wastefull pillage of

your eſtates, will they yet have any compaſſion upon you, and that poore pittance which they have left you, will they be but ſo good to you as that raviſher was to his ſiſter, when he had us'd her at his pleaſure, will they but only hate ye and ſo turne ye looſe? no: they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not fauour ye ſo much. What will they do then in the name of God and Saints, what will theſe manhaters yet with more deſpight and miſchiefe do? Ile tell ye, or at leaſt remember ye, for moſt of ye know it already. That they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon, as they have done to your ſouls, they will ſell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your Parlaments, all theſe things, and if there be ought elſe dearer then theſe, they will ſell at an out-cry in their Pulpits to the arbitrary and illegall diſpoſe of any one that may hereafter be call'd a King, whoſe mind ſhall ſerve him to liſten to their bargain. And by their corrupt and ſervile doctrines boring our eares to an everlaſting ſlavery, as they have done hitherto, ſo will they yet do their beſt to repeal and eraſe every line and clauſe of both our great charters. Nor is this only what they will doe, but what they hold as the maine reaſon and myſtery of their advancement that they muſt do; be the Prince never ſo juſt and equall to his ſubjects; yet ſuch are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they ſo look on him, and ſo underſtand him, as if he requir'd no other gratitude, or piece of ſervice from them then this. And indeed they ſtand ſo opportunly for the diſturbing or the deſtroying of a ſtate, being a knot of creatures whoſe dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the Goſpel, as they themſelves acknowledge, but only in the Princes favour, and to continue ſo long to them, as by pleaſing him they ſhall deſerve, whence it muſt needs be they ſhould bend all their inten-

tions, and ſervices to no other ends but to his, that if it ſhould happen that a tyrant (God turn ſuch a ſcourge from us to our enemies) ſhould come to graſp the Scepter, here were his ſpeare men and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he ſhould need no other pretorian band nor penſionry then theſe, if they could once with their perfidious preachments aw the people. For although the Prelats in time of popery were ſometimes friendly anough to magnachar ta, was becauſe they ſtood upon their own bottom, without their main dependance on the royal nod: but now being well acquainted that the proteſtant religion, if ſhe will reform her ſelf rightly by the Scriptures, muſt undreſſe them of all their guilded vanities, and reduce them as they were at firſt, to the lowly and equall order of Preſbyters, they know it concerns them neerly to ſtudy the times more then the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hils of the Court, from whence only comes their help; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and obſervance, as ere long it would, and that yet their minds clime ſtill to a higher aſcent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they muſt of neceſſity contrive to bring themſelves and us back again to the Popes ſupremacy, and this we ſee they had by fair degrees of late been doing. Theſe be the two fair ſupporters between which the ſtrength of Prelaty is born up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing popery. Hence alſo we may judge that Prelaty is meer falſhood. For the property of Truth is, where ſhe is publickly taught, to unyoke and ſet free the minds and ſpirits of a Nation firſt from the thraldom of ſin and ſuperſtition, after which all honeſt and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long abſent; but Prelaty whom the tyrant cuſtom begot a natural tyrant in religion, and in ſtate the agent and miniſter of tyranny, ſeems to have had this fatal guift

in her nativity like another *Midas* that whatſoever ſhe ſhould touch or come neer either in eccleſial or political government, it ſhould turn, not to gold, though ſhe for her part could wiſh it, but to the droſſe and ſcum of ſlavery breeding and ſetling both in the bodies and the ſouls of all ſuch as doe not in time with the ſovran treacle of ſound doctrine provide to fortifie their hearts againſt her Hierarchy. The ſervice of God who is Truth, her Liturgy confeſſes to be perfect freedom, but her works and her opinions declare that the ſervice of Prelaty is perfect ſlavery, and by conſequence perfect falſhood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the Gentry, ſtudious men, as I heare ſhould engage themſelves to write, and ſpeak publickly in her defence, but that I beleeve their honeſt and ingenuous natures comming to the Univerſities to ſtore themſelves with good and ſolid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing elſe, but the ſcragged and thorny lectures of monkiſh and miſerable ſophiſtry, were ſent home again with ſuch a ſcholaſtical burre in their throats, as hath ſtopt and hinderd all true and generous philoſophy from entring, crackt their voices for ever with metaphyſical gargariſms, and hath made them admire a ſort of formal outſide men prelatically addicted, whoſe unchaſt'nd and unwrought minds never yet initiated or ſubdu'd under the true lore of religion or moral vertue, which two are the beſt and greateſt points of learning, but either ſlightly train'd up in a kind of hypocritical and hackny cours of literature to get their living by, and dazle the ignorant, or els fondly overſtudied in uſeleſſe controverſies, except thoſe which they uſe with all the ſpecious and deluſive ſuttlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta, having a Goſpel and Church-government ſet before their eyes, as a fair field wherin they might exerciſe the greateſt vertu's, and the

greateſt deeds of Chriſtian autority in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world, which even the ſage heathen writers and thoſe old *Fabritii*, and *Curii* well knew to be a manner of working, then which nothing could lik'n a mortal man more to God, who delights moſt to worke from within himſelf, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal inſtrument, they underſtand it not, and think no ſuch matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches, and honours, with an eaſie and intemperat life, to the bane of Chriſtianity: yea they and their Seminaries ſhame not to profeſſe, to petition and never lin pealing our eares that unleſſe we fat them like boores, and cramme them as they liſt with wealth, with Deaneries, and pluralities, with Baronies and ſtately preferments, all learning and religion will goe underfoot. Which is ſuch a ſhameleſſe, ſuch a beſtial plea, and of that odious impudence in Church-men, who ſhould be to us a pattern of temperance and frugal mediocrity, who ſhould teach us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promiſe which they themſelves require from us in baptiſme, that ſhould the Scripture ſtand by and be mute, there is not that ſect of Philoſophers among the heathen ſo diſſolute, no not *Epicurus*, nor *Ariſtippus* with all his Cyrenaick rout, but would ſhut his ſchool dores againſt ſuch greaſy ſophiſters: not any College of Mountebanks, but would think ſcorn to diſcover in themſelves with ſuch a brazen forehead the outrageous deſire of filthy lucre. Which the Prelats make ſo little conſcience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to maſſacre all good Chriſtians under the names of horrible ſchiſmaticks for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconſcionable wealth and revenues, their cruell autority over their brethren that labour in the word, while they ſnore in their luxu-

rious exceſſe. Openly proclaming themſelvs now in the ſight of all men to be thoſe which for a while they ſought to cover under ſheeps cloathing, ravenous and ſavage wolves threatning inrodes and bloody incurſions upon the flock of Chriſt, which they took upon them to feed, but now clame to devour as their prey. More like that huge dragon of Egypt breathing out waſt, and deſolation to the land, unleſſe he were daily fatn'd with virgins blood. Him our old patron Saint *George* by his matchleſſe valour ſlew, as the Prelat of the Garter that reads his Collect can tell. And if our Princes and Knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of Knighthood ſolemnly taken, they vow, farre be it that they ſhould uphold and ſide with this Engliſh Dragon; but rather to doe as indeed their oath binds them, they ſhould make it their Knightly adventure to purſue and vanquiſh this mighty ſailewing'd monſter that menaces to ſwallow up the Land, unleſſe her bottomleſſe gorge may be ſatisfi'd with the blood of the Kings daughter the Church; and may, as ſhe was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the Saints. Nor will any one have reaſon to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be ſpok'n of Prelaty, if he conſider well from what a maſſe of ſlime and mud, the ſloathful, the covetous and ambitious hopes of Church-promotions and fat Biſhopricks ſhe is bred up and nuzzl'd in, like a great Python from her youth, to prove the general poyſon both of doctrine and good diſcipline in the Land. For certainly ſuch hopes and ſuch principles of earth as theſe wherein ſhe welters from a yong one, are the immediat generation both of a ſlaviſh and tyrannous life to follow, and a peſtiferous contagion to the whole Kingdom, till like that fenborn ſerpent ſhe be ſhot to death with the darts of the ſun, the pure and powerful beams of Gods word. And this may

ſerve to deſcribe to us in part, what Prelaty hath bin and what, if ſhe ſtand, ſhe is like to be toward the whole body of people in *England*. Now that it may appeare how ſhe is not ſuch a kind of evil, as hath any good, or uſe in it, which many evils have, but a diſtill'd quinteſſence, a pure elixar of miſchief, peſtilent alike to all, I ſhal ſhew briefly, ere I conclude, that the Prelats, as they are to the ſubjects a calamity, ſo are they the greateſt underminers and betrayers of the Monarch, to whom they ſeem to be moſt favourable. I cannot better liken the ſtate and perſon of a King then to that mighty Nazarite *Samſon;* who being diſciplin'd from his birth in the precepts and the practice of Temperance and Sobriety, without the ſtrong drink of injurious and exceſſive deſires, grows up to a noble ſtrength and perfection with thoſe his illuſtrious and ſunny locks the laws waving and curling about his god like ſhoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminiſht and unſhorn, he may with the jaw-bone of an Aſſe, that is, with the word of his meaneſt officer ſuppreſſe and put to confuſion thouſands of thoſe that riſe againſt his juſt power. But laying down his head among the ſtrumpet flatteries of Prelats, while he ſleeps and thinks no harme, they wickedly ſhaving off all thoſe bright and waighty treſſes of his laws, and juſt prerogatives which were his ornament and ſtrength, deliver him over to indirect and violent councels, which as thoſe Philiſtims put out the fair, and farre-ſighted eyes of his natural diſcerning, and make him grinde in the priſon houſe of their ſiniſter ends and practices upon him. Till he knowing this prelatical raſor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nouriſh again his puiſſant hair, the golden beames of Law and Right; and they ſternly ſhook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of thoſe his evil counſellors, but not without great affliction to him-

ſelfe. This is the ſum of their loyal ſervice to Kings; yet theſe are the men that ſtil cry the King, the King, the Lords Anointed. We grant it, and wonder how they came to light upon any thing ſo true; and wonder more, if Kings be the Lords Anointed, how they dare thus oyle over and beſmeare ſo holy an unction with the corrupt and putrid oyntment of their baſe flatteries; which while they ſmooth the ſkin, ſtrike inward and envenom the life blood. What fidelity Kings can expect from Prelats both examples paſt, and our preſent experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath bin ſaid, may ſuffice to inform us. And if they be ſuch clippers of regal power and ſhavers of the Laws, how they ſtand affected to the law giving Parlament, your ſelves, worthy Peeres and Commons, can beſt teſtifie; the current of whoſe glorious and immortal actions hath bin only oppos'd by the obſcure and pernicious deſignes of the Prelats, until their inſolence broke out to ſuch a bold affront, as hath juſtly immur'd their haughty looks within ſtrong wals. Nor have they done any thing of late with more diligence, then to hinder or break the happy aſſembling of Parlaments, however needfull to repaire the ſhatter'd and disjoynted frame of the Common-wealth, or if they cannot do this, to croſſe, to diſinable, and traduce all Parlamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing elſe, plainly accuſes them to be no lawful members of the houſe, if they thus perpetually mutine againſt their own body. And though they pretend like *Salomons* harlot, that they have right thereto, by the ſame judgement that *Salomon* gave, it cannot belong to them, whenas it is not onely their aſſent, but their endeavour continually to divide Parlaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to aboliſh and deſtroy the free uſe of them to all poſterity. For the which and for all their for-

mer miſdeeds, wherof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moytie, I ſhal move yee Lords in the behalf I dare ſay of many thouſand good Chriſtians, to let your juſtice and ſpeedy ſentence paſſe againſt this great malefactor Prelaty. And yet in the midſt of rigor I would beſeech ye to think of mercy; and ſuch a mercy, I feare I ſhal overſhoot with a deſire to ſave this falling Prelaty, ſuch a mercy (if I may venture to ſay it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous perſons would have ſav'd *Sodom*. Not that I dare adviſe ye to contend with God whether he or you ſhal be more merciful, but in your wiſe eſteems to ballance the offences of thoſe peccant Citties with theſe enormous riots of ungodly miſ-rule that Prelaty hath wrought both in the Church of Chriſt, and in the ſtate of this Kingdome. And if ye think ye may with a pious preſumption ſtrive to goe beyond God in mercy, I ſhall not be one now that would diſſuade ye. Though God for leſſe then ten juſt perſons would not ſpare *Sodom*, yet if you can finde after due ſearch but only one good thing in prelaty either to religion, or civil goverment, to King or Parlament, to Prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth or learning, ſpare her, let her live, let her ſpread among ye, til with her ſhadow, all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darken'd and obſcurd. But on the contrary if ſhe be found to be malignant, hoſtile, deſtructive to all theſe, as nothing can be ſurer, then let your ſevere and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your puniſhing force upon this godleſſe and oppreſſing government: and bring ſuch a dead Sea of ſubverſion upon her, that ſhe may never in this Land riſe more to afflict the holy reformed Church, and the elect people of God.

Animadverſions upon The *Remonſtrants* Defence againſt SMECTYMNUUS.

THE PREFACE.

ALthough it be a certaine truth that they who undertake a Religious Cauſe need not care to be Men-pleaſers; yet becauſe the ſatisfaction of tender and mild conſciences is far different from that which is call'd Men-pleaſing, to ſatisfie ſuch, I ſhall adreſſe my ſelfe in few words to give notice before hand of ſomething in this booke, which to ſome men perhaps may ſeeme offenſive, that when I have render'd a lawfull reaſon of what is done, I may truſt to have ſav'd the labour of defending or excuſing hereafter. Wee all know that in private and perſonall injuries, yea in publique ſufferings for the cauſe of Chriſt, his rule and example teaches us to be ſo farre from a readineſſe to ſpeak evill, as not to anſwer the reviler in his language though never ſo much provok't. Yet in the detecting, and convincing of any notorious enimie to truth and his Countries peace, eſpecially that is conceited to have a voluble and ſmart fluence of tongue, and in the vaine confidence of that, and out of a more tenacious cling to worldly reſpects, ſtands up for all the reſt to juſtifie a long uſurpation and convicted Pſeudepiſcopy of Prelates, with all their ceremonies,

Liturgies, and tyrannies which God and man are now ready to explode and hiſſe out of the land, I ſuppoſe and more then ſuppoſe, it will be nothing diſagreeing from Chriſtian meekneſſe to handle ſuch a one in a rougher accent, and to ſend home his haughtineſſe well beſpurted with his owne holy-water. Nor to do thus are we unautoritied either from the morall precept of SALOMON *to anſwer him thereafter that prides him in his folly; nor from the example of Chriſt, and all his followers in all Ages, who in the refuting of thoſe that reſiſted ſound Doctrine, and by ſubtile diſſimulations corrupted the minds of men, have wrought up their zealous ſouls into ſuch vehemencies, as nothing could be more killingly ſpoken: for who can be a greater enemy to Mankind, who a more dangerous deceiver then he who defending a traditionall corruption uſes no common Arts, but with a wily Stratagem of yeelding to the time a greater part of his cauſe, ſeeming to forgo all that mans invention hath done therein, and driven from much of his hold in Scripture, yet leaving it hanging by a twin'd threed, not from divine command but from Apoſtolicall prudence or aſſent, as if he had the ſurety of ſome roulling trench, creeps up by this meanes to his relinquiſh't fortreſſe of divine authority againe; and ſtill hovering betweene the confines of that which hee dares not bee openly, and that which he will not be ſincerely, traines on the eaſie Chriſtian inſenſibly within the cloſe ambuſhment of worſt errors, and with a ſlye ſhuffle of counterfeit principles chopping and changing till hee have glean'd all the good ones out of their minds, leaves them at laſt, after a ſlight reſemblance of ſweeping and garniſhing under the ſevenfold poſſeſſion of a deſperate ſtupidity. And therefore they that love the ſoules of men, which is the dearest love, and ſtirs up the nobleſt jealouſie, when they meet with ſuch colluſion, cannot be blam'd though they bee tranſported with the zeale of truth to a well heated fervencie; eſpecially, ſeeing they*

which thus offend against the soules of their brethren, do it with delight to their great gaine, ease, and advancement in this world, but they that seeke to discover and oppose their false trade of deceiving, do it not without a sad and unwilling anger, not without many hazards, but without all private and personall spleene, and without any thought of earthly reward, when as this very course they take stopps their hopes of ascending above a lowly and unenviable pitch in this life. And although in the serious uncasing of a grand imposture (for to deale plainly with you Readers, Prelatry is no better) there be mixt here and there such a grim laughter, as may appeare at the same time in an austere visage, it cannot be taxt of levity or insolence: for even this veine of laughing (as I could produce out of grave Authors) hath oft-times a strong and sinewy force in teaching and confuting; nor can there be a more proper object of indignation and scorne together then a false Prophet taken in the greatest dearest and most dangerous cheat, the cheat of soules: in the disclosing whereof if it be harmfull to be angry, and withall to cast a lowring smile, when the propereſt object calls for both, it will be long enough ere any be able to say why those two most rationall faculties of humane intellect anger and laughter were first seated in the brest of man. Thus much (Readers) in favour of the softer spirited Christian, for other exceptioners there was no thought taken. Onely if it bee ask't why this close and succinct manner of coping with the Adversary was rather chosen, this was the reason chiefly, that the ingenuous Reader without further amusing himselfe in the labyrinth of controversall antiquity, may come the speediest way to see the truth vindicated, and Sophistry taken short at the first false bound. Next that the Remonstrant himselfe as oft as hee pleases to be frolick and brave it with others may find no gaine of money, and may learne not to insult in so bad a cause. But now he begins.

Sect. 1. *p.* 1.] *Remonſtrant.* My ſingle *Remonſtrance* is encountred with a plurall *Adverſary.*

Anſwere. Did not your ſingle Remonſtrance bring along with it a hot ſent of your more then ſingular affection to ſpirituall pluralities, your ſingleneſſe would be leſſe ſuſpected with all good Chriſtians then it is.

Remon. Their names, perſons, qualities, numbers, I care not to know.

Anſw. Their names are knowne to the all-knowing power above, and in the meane while doutleſſe they wreck not whether you or your *Nomenclator* know them or not.

Remon. But could they ſay my name is Legion; for wee are many.

Anſw. Wherefore ſhould you begin with the Devils name deſcanting upon the number of your opponents? wherefore that conceit of *Legion* with a by-wipe? was it becauſe you would have men take notice how you eſteeme them, whom through all your booke ſo bountifully you call your brethren? wee had not thought that *Legion* could have furniſht the *Remonſtrant* with ſo many brethren.

Remon. My cauſe yea Gods would bid me meet them undiſmai'd, &c.

Anſw. Ere a foot furder we muſt bee content to heare a preambling boaſt of your valour, what a St. *Dunſtane*, you are to encounter *Legions*, either infernall or humane.

Remon. My cauſe, yea Gods.

Anſw. What gods? unleſſe your belly or the god of this world be hee? ſhew us any one point of your *Remonſtrance* that do's not more concern ſuperiority, pride, eaſe and the belly, then the truth and glory of God, or the ſalvation of ſoules.

Remon. My cauſe, yea Gods would bid me meet

them undiſmaid, and to ſay with holy *David, though an hoaſt &c.*

Anſw. Doe not think to Perſwade us of your undaunted courage by miſapplying to your ſelfe the words of holy *David;* we know you feare, and are in an agonie at this preſent, leſt you ſhould loſe that ſuperfluity of riches and honour which your party uſurp. And whoſoever covets and ſo earneſtly labours to keep ſuch an incumbring ſurcharge of earthly things, cannot but have an earth-quake ſtill in his bones. You are not arm'd *Remonſtrant*, nor any of your band, you are not dieted, nor your loynes girt for ſpirituall valour, and Chriſtian warfare, the luggage is too great that followes your Camp; your hearts are there, you march heavily. How ſhall we think you have not carnall feare while we ſee you ſo ſubject to carnall deſires?

Pag. 2.] *Remon.* I doe gladly fly to the barre.

Anſw. To the barre with him then. Gladly you ſay. We beleeve you as gladly as your whole faction wiſh't, and long'd for the aſſembling of this Parliament, as gladly as your beneficiaries the *Prieſts* came up to anſwer the complaints and outcries of all the Shires.

Remon. The *Areopagi?* who were thoſe? truly my maſters I had thought this had beene the name of the place, not of the men.

Anſw. A ſoar-Eagle, would not ſtoope at a flye, but ſure ſome *Pedagogue* ſtood at your Elbow, and made it itch with this parlous Criticiſme they urg'd you with a Decree of the ſage and ſevere Judges of *Athens*, and you cite them to appeare for certaine *Paragogicall* contempts, before a capricious *Pædantie* of hot-liver'd Grammarians. Miſtake not the matter courteous *Remonſtrant*, they were not making Latines: if in dealing with an outlandiſh name they thought it beſt not to ſcrew the Engliſh mouth to a

harſh forreigne termination, ſo they kept the radicall word, they did no more then the eleganteſt Authors among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and at this day the *Italians* in ſcorne of ſuch a ſervility uſe to doe. Remember how they mangle our Brittiſh names abroad; what treſpaſſe were it, if wee in requitall ſhould as much neglect theirs? and our learned *Chaucer* did not ſtick to doe ſo, writing *Semyramus* for *Semiramis*, *Amphiorax* for *Amphiaraus*, K. *Sejes* for K. *Ceyx* the huſband of *Alcyone*, with many other names ſtrangely metamorphis'd from true *Orthography*, if he had made any account of that in theſe kind of words.

At the beginning of his Remonſtrance.] *Remon.* Leſt the world ſhould think the preſſe had of late forgot to ſpeak any language other then libellous, this honeſt paper hath broken through the throng.

Anſw. Mince the matter while you will, it ſhew'd but green practiſe in the lawes of diſcreet *Rhetorique* to blurt upon the eares of a judicious *Parliament* with ſuch a preſumptuous and over-weening *Proem:* but you doe well to be the Sewer of your owne meſſe.

Remon. That which you miſcall the Preface, was a too juſt complaint of the ſhamfull number of Libells.

Anſw. How long is it that you, and the Prelaticall troop have bin in ſuch diſtaſt with Libells? aſke your *Lyſimachus Nicanor* what defaming invectives have lately flown abroad againſt the Subjects of *Scotland*, and our poore expulſed Brethren of *New-England*, the Prelates rather applauding, then ſhewing any diſlike: and this hath bin ever ſo, in ſo much, that Sir *Francis Bacon* in one of his diſcourſes complaines of the Biſhops uneven hand over theſe Pamflets, confining thoſe againſt Biſhops to darkneſſe, but Licencing thoſe againſt Puritans to be utter'd

openly, though with the greater miſcheife of leading into contempt the exerciſe of Religion in the perſons of ſundry Preachers, and diſgracing the higher matter in the meaner perſon.

Remon. A point no leſſe eſſential to that propoſed *Remonſtrance.*

Anſw. Wee know where the ſhoo wrings you, you fret, and are gall'd at the quick, and O what a death it is to the Prelates to be thus un-viſarded, thus uncas'd, to have the Periwigs pluk't off that cover your baldneſſe, your inſide nakedneſſe thrown open to publick view. The *Romans* had a time once every year, when their Slaves might freely ſpeake their minds, twere hard if the free borne people of *England*, with whom the voyce of Truth for theſe many yeares, even againſt the proverb, hath not bin heard but in corners, after all your Monkiſh prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your gags and ſnaffles, your proud *Imprimaturs* not to be obtain'd without the ſhallow ſurview, but not ſhallow hand of ſome mercenary, narrow Soul'd, and illitterate Chaplain; when liberty of ſpeaking, then which nothing is more ſweet to man, was girded, and ſtraight lac't almoſt to a broken-winded tizzick, if now at a good time, our time of *Parliament*, the very jubily, and reſurrection of the State, if now the conceal'd, the aggreev'd, and long perſecuted Truth, could not be ſuffer'd ſpeak, and though ſhe burſt out with ſome efficacy of words, could not be excus'd after ſuch an injurious ſtrangle of ſilence, nor avoyde the cenſure of Libelling, twere hard, twere ſomething pinching in a Kingdome of free ſpirits. Some Princes, and great Statiſts, have thought it a prime piece of neceſſary policy to thruſt themſelves under diſguiſe into a popular throng, to ſtand the night long under eaves of houſes, and low windows, that they might hear every where the free utterances

of privat breſts, and amongſt them find out the precious gemme of Truth, as amongſt the numberleſſe pibbles of the Shoar; wherby they might be the abler to diſcover, and avoid that deceitfull, and cloſe coutcht evill of flattery that ever attends them, and miſleads them, and might ſkilfully know how to apply the ſeveral redreſſes to each malady of State, without truſting the diſloyall information of Paraſites, and Sycophants: wheras now this permiſſion of free writing, were there no good elſe in it, yet at ſome times thus licenc't, is ſuch an unripping, ſuch an Anatomie of the ſhieſt, and tendereſt particular truths, as makes not only the whole Nation in many points the wiſer, but alſo preſents, and carries home to Princes, and men moſt remote from vulgar concourſe, ſuch a full inſight of every lurking evil, or reſtrained good among the Commons, as that they ſhall not need heerafter in old Cloaks, and falſe Beards, to ſtand to the courteſy of a night-walking cudgeller for eaves dropping, nor to accept quietly as a perfume, the over-head emptying of ſome ſalt lotion. Who could be angry therefore but thoſe that are guilty, with theſe free-ſpoken, and plaine harted men that are the eyes of their Country, and the proſpective glaſſes of their Prince? But theſe are the nettlers, theſe are the blabbing Bookes that tell, though not halfe your fellows feats. You love toothleſſe Satyrs; let me informe you, a toothleſſe Satyr is as improper as a toothed fleekſtone, and as bulliſh.

Remon. I beſeech you brethren ſpend your Logick upon your own workes.

Anſw. The peremptory Analyſis that you will call it, I beleeve will be ſo hardy as once more to unpinne your ſpruce faſtidious oratory, to rumple her laces, her frizzles, and her bobins though ſhe wince, and fling, never ſo Peeviſhly.

P. 4.] *Remon.* Thoſe verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will ſink alone.

Anſw. O rare ſuttlety, beyond all that *Cardan* ever dream't of, when I beſeech you, will light things ſink? when will light froth ſink alone. Here in your phraſe, the ſame day that heavy plummets will ſwimme alone. Truſt this man, Readers if you pleaſe, whoſe divinity would reconcile *England* with *Rome*, and his philoſophy make friends nature with the *Chaos*, *ſine pondere habentia pondus.*

Remon. That ſcum may be worth taking off which followes.

Anſw. Spare your Ladle Sir, it will be as bad as the Biſhops foot in the broth; the ſcum will be found upon your own *Remonſtrance.*

Remon. I ſhall deſire all indifferent eyes to judge whether theſe men do not endeavour to caſt unjuſt envy upon me.

Anſw. Agreed.

Remon. I had ſaid that the civil polity as in generall notion, hath ſome times varied, and that the civil came from arbitrary impoſers, theſe gracious interpreters would needs draw my words to the preſent, and particular goverment of our Monarchy.

Anſw. And deſervedly have they don ſo, take up your Logick elſe and ſee: civil politie, ſay you, hath ſometimes varied, and came from arbitrary impoſers, what propoſition is this? Biſhop *Downam* in his *Dialecticks* will tell you it is a generall axiome, though the univerſal particle be not expres't, and you your ſelfe in your defence ſo explaine in theſe words as in general notion. Hence is juſtly inferr'd he that ſaies civil polity is arbitrary, ſaies that the civil polity of *England* is Arbitrary. The inference is undeniable, *a theſi ad hypotheſin*, or from the general to the particular, an evincing argument in Logick.

P. 5.] *Remon.* Brethren whiles yee deſire to ſeeme Godly, learne to be leſſe malitious.

Anſw. *Remonſtrant*, till you have better learnt your principles of Logick, take not upon you to be a Doctor to others.

Remon. God bleſſe all good men from ſuch charity.

Anſw. I never found that Logicall maxims were uncharitable before, yet ſhould a Jury of Logicians paſſe upon you, you would never be ſav'd by the Book.

Remon. And our Sacred Monarchy from ſuch friends.

Anſw. Adde, as the Prelates.

Remon. If Epiſcopacy have yoked Monarchy, it is the Inſolence of the Perſons, not the fault of the Calling.

Anſw. It was the fault of the perſons, and of no Calling, we doe not count Prelatry a Calling.

P. 6.] *Remon.* The teſtimony of a Pope (whom theſe men honor highly).

Anſw. That ſlanderous inſertion was doubtles a pang of your incredible charity, the want whereof, you lay ſo often to their charge; a kind token of your favour lapt up in a parentheſis, a piece of the Clergy benevolence layd by to maintain the Epiſcopal broile, whether the 1000 Horſe or no, time will diſcover, for certainly had thoſe cavaliers come on to play their parts, ſuch a ticket as this of highly honouring the Pope, from the hand of a Prelate, might have bin of ſpecial uſe, and ſafety to them that had war'd for ſuch a ranſom.

Remon. And what ſaies Antichriſt.

Anſw. Aſk your Brethren the Prelates that hold intelligence with him, aſk not us. But is the Pope Antichriſt now? good newes! take heed you be not shent for this, for tis verily thought, that had this

Bill bin put in againſt him in your laſt Convocat
he would have bin clear'd by moſt voices.

Remon. Any thing ſerves againſt Epiſcopacy.

Anſw. See the frowardnes of this man, he wo
perſwade us that the ſucceſſion, and divine righ
Biſhopdom hath bin unqueſtionable through
ages, yet when they bring againſt him Kings, t
were irreligious, *Popes*, they are Antichriſt, by w
Æra of computation, through what Faery L
would the man deduce this Perpetual beadrou
uncontradicted Epiſcopacy? The *Pope* may as
boaſt his ungainſaid authority to them that will
leive that all his contradicters were either irreligi
or heretical.

P. 7.] *Remon.* If the Biſhops, ſaith the *I*
be declar'd to be of divine right they would be
empted from regal power, and if there migh
this danger in thoſe Kingdomes why is this
viouſly upraided to thoſe of ours? who do gl
profeſſe &c.

Anſw. Becauſe your diſſever'd principles were
like the mangl'd pieces of a gaſh't Serpent, that
begun to cloſe, and grow together Popiſh ag
Whatſoever you now gladly profeſſe out of fear
know what your drifts were when you thought
ſelves ſecure.

Remon. It is a foul ſlander to charge the nam
Epiſcopacy with a faction, for the fact impute
ſome few.

Anſw. The more foul your faction that
brought a harmleſſe name into obloquie, and
fact may juſtly be imputed to all of yee that o
to have withſtood it, and did not.

Remon. Fie Brethren, are yee the Preſbyte
the Church of *England*, and dare chalenge Ep
pacy of faction.

Anſw. Yes, as oft as Epiſcopacy dares be factio

Remon. Had you ſpoken ſuch a word in the time of holy Cyprian, what had become of you?

Anſw. They had neither bin hal'd into your Gehenna at *Lambeth*, nor ſtrappado'd with an Oath *Ex Officio* by your bow men of the Arches: and as for *Cyprians* time, the cauſe was farre unlike, he indeed ſucceeded into an Epiſcopacy that began then to Prelatize, but his perſonal excellence like an antidote overcame the malignity of that breeding corruption which was then a diſeaſe that lay hid for a while under ſhew of a full, and healthy conſtitution, as thoſe hydropick humors not diſcernable at firſt from a fair and juicy fleſhineſſe of body, or that unwonted ruddy colour which ſeems gracefull to a cheek otherwiſe pale, and yet ariſes from evil cauſes, either of ſome inward obſtruction, or inflammation, and might deceav the firſt Phiſicians till they had learnt the ſequell, which *Cyprians* dayes did not bring forth, and the Prelatiſm of Epiſcopacy which began then to burgeon, and ſpread, had as yet, eſpecially in famous men a fair, though a falſe imitation of flouriſhing.

P. 8.] *Remon.* Neither is the wrong leſſe to make application of that which was moſt juſtly charged upon the practiſes, and combinations of Libelling Separatiſts, whom I deſervedly cenſur'd &c.

Anſw. To conclude this Section, our *Remonſtrant* we ſee is reſolv'd to make good that which was formerly ſaid of his Book, that it was neither *humble*, nor a *Remonſtrance*, and this his defence is of the ſame Complexion. When he is conſtrain'd to mention the notorious violence of his Clergy attempted on the Church of *Scotland*, he ſlightlie termes it a fact imputed to ſome few; but when he ſpeakes of that which the *Parliament* voutſafes to name the *City Petition*, which I, ſaith he, (as if the State had made him publick Cenſor) deſervedly cenſur'd. And

how? as before for a tumultuarie, and underl way of procured ſubſcriptions, ſo now in his def more bitterly, as the practizes, and combinatior Libelling Separatiſts, and the miſzealous advo thereof, juſtly to be branded for incendiaries. V ther this be for the honour of our cheif Citty t noted with ſuch an infamie for a Petition, w not without ſome of the Magiſtrates, and numbers of ſober, and conſiderable men, was ord and meekly preſented, although our great C think that theſe men, becauſe they have a T (as *Chriſt himſelfe*, and Saint *Paul* had) cannot tl fore attaine to ſome good meaſure of knowl and to a reaſon of their actions, as well as they ſpend their youth in loitering, bezzling, and lotting, their ſtudies in unprofitable queſtions barbarous ſophiſtry, their middle age in ambi and idleneſſe, their old age in avarice, dotage, diſeaſes: and whether this reflect not with a cont ly upon the *Parliament* it ſelfe, which though Petition worthy, not only of receaving, but of v to a commitment, after it had bin advocated, mov'd for by ſome honourable, and learned Ge men of the Houſe, to be cal'd a combinatic Libelling Separatiſts, and the advocates there be branded for Incendiaries, whether this app not the judgement, and approbation of the *Pa ment*, I leave to equall Arbiters.

Sect. 2.] *Remon.* After the overflowing of gall, you deſcend to Liturgy, and Epiſcopacy.

Anſw. The overflow being paſt, you cannot in your owne judgement impute any bitterne their following diſcourſes.

P. 9.] *Remon.* D. *Hall* whom you name, I ſay for honors ſake.

Anſw. Y'are a merry man Sir, and dar much.

Remon. And why ſhould I not ſpeake of Martyrs, as the Authors and uſers of this holy *Liturgie?*

Anſw. As the Authors? the Tranſlators you might perhaps have ſaid, for *Edward* the Sixt, as *Hayward* hath written in his Story, will tell you upon the word of a K. that the order of the Service, and the uſe thereof in the Engliſh Tongue is no other then the old Service was, and the ſame words in Engliſh which were in Latine, except a few things omitted, ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in Engliſh; theſe are his words: whereby we are left uncertaine who the Author was, but certaine that part of the work was eſteem'd ſo abſurd by the Tranſlators thereof, as was to be aſham'd of in Engliſh. O but the Martyrs were the refiners of it, for that only is left you to ſay. Admit they were, they could not refine a Scorpion into a Fiſh, though they had drawn it, and rinc't it with never ſo cleanly Cookery, which made them fall at variance among themſelves about the uſe either of it, or the Ceremonies belonging to it.

Remon. Slight you them as you pleaſe, we bleſſe God for ſuch Patrons of our good cauſe.

Anſw. O *Benedicite! Qui color ater erat, nunc eſt contrarius atro.* Are not theſe they which one of your Biſhops in print ſcornfully termes the *Foxian* Confeſſors? Are not theſe they whoſe Acts and Monuments are not onely ſo contemptible, but ſo hatefull to the *Prelates*, that their Story was almoſt come to be a prohibited *book*, which for theſe two or three Editions hath crept into the world by ſtealth, and at times of advantage, not without the open regret and vexation of the Biſhops, as many honeſt men that had to doe in ſetting forth the *Book* will juſtifie. And now at a dead lift for your *Liturgie* you bleſſe God for them: out upon ſuch hypocriſie.

P. 10.] *Remon.* As if wee were bound to ı good every word that falls from the mouth of (Biſhop.

Anſw. Your faction then belike is a ſubtile *l* and ha's two faces: your bolder face to ſet for any innovations or ſcandalls in the Church, cautious, and wary face to diſavow them if they ceed not, that ſo the fault may not light upo: function, leſt it ſhould ſpoil the whole plot by g it an irrecoverable wound. Wherefore els did yc long agoe, as a good Biſhop ſhould have done claim, and proteſt againſt them, wherfore hav ſate ſtill, and comply'd and hoodwinkt, till th nerall complaints of the Land have ſqueez'd yo wretched, cold and hollow-hearted confeſſi ſome Prelaticall riots both in this and other] of your *Booke.* Nay what if you ſtill defend as followes?

Remon. If a Biſhop have ſaid that our *Li* hath bin ſo wiſely and charitably fram'd as tha devotion of it yeeldeth no cauſe of offence to ; *Popes* eare.

Anſw. O new and never-heard of Superero heighth of wiſdome and charity in our *Liturg* the wiſedome of God or the charitable frami Gods word otherwiſe inoffenſive to the *Popes* then as hee may turne it to the working of hi terious iniquitie? A little pulley would have ſtr your wiſe and charitable frame it may be inches further, that the devotion of it might yeelded no cauſe of offence to the very devils and that had beene the ſame wiſedome and c ſurmounting to the higheſt degree. For *chriſt* wee know is but the Devils Vicar, and fore pleaſe him with your *Liturgie,* and you his maiſter.

Remon. Would you thinke it requiſite tha

ſhould chide and quarrell when we ſpeake to the God of peace?

Anſw. Fie no Sir; but forecaſt our prayers ſo that Sathan and his inſtruments may take as little exception againſt them as may be, leſt they ſhould chide and quarrell with us.

Remon. It is no little advantage to our cauſe, and piety, that our Liturgy is taught to ſpeak ſeverall languages for uſe and example.

Anſw. The language of *Aſhdod* is one of them, and that makes ſo many Engliſh-men have ſuch a ſmattering of their *Philiſtian* Mother. And indeed our *Liturgie* hath run up and downe the world like an Engliſh gallopping Nun, proffering her ſelfe, but wee heare of none yet that bids money for her.

Remon. As for that ſharp cenſure of learned Mr. *Calvin*, it might well have beene forborne by him in *aliena Republica.*

Anſw. Thus this untheologicall *Remonſtrant* would divide the individuall Catholicke Church into ſeverall Republicks: know therefore that every worthy *Paſtor* of the Church of *Chriſt* hath univerſall right to admoniſh over all the world within the Church; nor can that care be alien'd from him by any diſtance or diſtinction of nation, ſo long as in Chriſt all nations and languages are as one houſhold.

P. 11.] *Remon.* Neither would you thinke it could become any of our greateſt Divines to meddle with his charge.

Anſw. It hath ill become 'em indeed to meddle ſo malicioufly, as many of them have done, though that patient and Chriſtian City hath borne hitherto all their profane ſcoffes with ſilence.

Remon. Our *Liturgie* paſt the judgement of no leſſe reverent heads then his owne.

Anſw. It brib'd their judgement with worldly ingagements and ſo paſt it.

Remon. As for that unparallel'd diſcourſe concerning the antiquity of *Liturgies;* I cannot help your wonder, but ſhall juſtifie mine owne aſſertion.

Anſw. Your juſtification is but a miſerable ſhifting off thoſe teſtimonies of the ancienteſt Fathers alledg'd againſt you, and the authority of ſome Synodal Canons, which are no warrant to us. Wee profeſſe to decide our controverſies only by the Scriptures, but yet to repreſſe your vain glory, there will be volontarily beſtow'd upon you a ſufficient conviction of your novelties out of ſucceeding antiquity.

P. 12.] *Remon.* I cannot ſee how you will avoid your owne contradiction, for I demand is this order of praying and adminiſtration ſet, or no, if it be not ſet, how is it an order, and if it be a ſet order both for matter, and form.

Anſw. Remove that form, leſt you tumble over it, while you make ſuch haſt to clap a contradiction upon others.

Remon. If the formes were meerly Arbitrary, to what uſe was the preſcription of an order?

Anſw. Nothing will cure this mans underſtanding, but ſome familiar, and Kitchin phiſick; which with pardon muſt for plainnes ſake be adminiſter'd to him. Call hither your Cook. The order of Breakfaſt, Dinner, and Supper, anſwere me, is it ſet or no? Set. Is a man therefore bound in the morning to potcht eggs, and vinnegar, or at noon to Brawn, or Beefe, or at night to freſh Sammon, and French Kickſhoes? may he not make his meales in order, though he be not bound to this, or that viand? doubtleſſe the neat finger'd Artiſt will anſwer yes, and help us out of this great controverſy without more trouble. Can we not underſtand an order in Church aſſemblies of praying, reading, expounding, and adminiſtring, unleſſe our praiers be ſtill the ſame Crambe of words?

Remon. What a poore exception is this, that Liturgies were compos'd by ſome particular men?

Anſw. It is a greater preſumption in any particular men to arrogate to themſelves that which God univerſally gives to all his Miniſters. A Miniſter that cannot be truſted to pray in his own words without being chew'd to, and feſcu'd to a formal injunction of his rote-leſſon, ſhould as little be truſted to Preach, beſides the vain babble of praying over the ſame things immediatly againe, for there is a large difference in the repetition of ſome patheticall ejaculation rays'd out of the ſuddain earneſtneſſe and vigour of the inflam'd ſoul, (ſuch as was that of *Chriſt* in the Garden) from the continual reherſal of our dayly oriſons, which if a man ſhall kneel down in a morning and ſay over, and preſently in an other part of the Room kneel down again, and in other words aſk but ſtill for the ſame things as it were out of one Inventory, I cannot ſee how he will eſcape that heatheniſh Battologie of multiplying words which *Chriſt* himſelfe that has the putting up of our Praiers told us would not be acceptable in heaven. Well may men of eminent guifts ſet forth as many forms, and helps to praier as they pleaſe, but to impoſe them upon Miniſters lawfully call'd, and ſufficiently tri'd, as all ought to be, ere they be admitted, is a ſupercilious tyranny impropriating the Spirit of God to themſelves.

P. 13.] *Remon.* Doe we abridge this liberty by ordaining a publick form.

Anſw. Your Biſhops have ſet as fair to doe it as they durſt for that old Phariſaicall fear that ſtill dogs them, the fear of the people, though you will ſay you were none of thoſe, ſtill you would ſeem not to have joyn'd with the worſt, and yet keep alooff off from that which is beſt. I would you would either mingle, or part, moſt true it is what *Savanarola*

complaines, that while hee endeavour'd to reforme the Church, his greateſt enemies were ſtill theſe Lukewarm ones?

Remon. And if the Lords Praier be an ordinary, and ſtinted form, why not others?

Anſw. Becauſe there bee no other Lords that can ſtint with like authority.

P. 14.] *Remon.* If *Iuſtine Martyr* ſaid that the inſtructer of the people prai'd (as they falſly turn it) according to his ability.

Anſw. ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ will be ſo render'd to the worlds end by thoſe that are not to learne Greek of the *Remonſtrant*, and ſo *Langus* renders it to his face, if he could ſee, and this ancient Father mentions no antiphonies, or reſponſories of the people heer, but the only plain acclamation of Amen.

Remon. The inſtructer of the people prai'd according to his ability 'tis true, ſo do ours, and yet wee have a Liturgy, and ſo had they.

Anſw. A quick come off. The ancients us'd Pikes, and Targets, and therfore Guns, and great Ordnance, becauſe wee uſe both.

Remon. Neither is this liberty of powring out our ſelves in our praiers ever the more impeach't by a publique form.

Anſw. Yes the time is taken up with a tedious number of Liturgicall tautologies, and impertinencies.

P. 16.] *Remon.* The words of the Counſell are full and affirmative.

Anſw. Set the grave councels up upon their ſhelvs again, and ſtring them hard, leſt their various, and jangling opinions put their leavs into a flutter. I ſhall not intend this hot ſeaſon to bid you the baſe through the wide, and duſty champaine of the Councels, but ſhall take councel of that which counſel'd them, reaſon: and although I know there is an ob-

ſolet reprehenſion now at your tongues end, yet I ſhall be bold to ſay that reaſon is the gift of God in one man, as well as in a thouſand; by that which wee have taſted already of their Ceſterns, wee may finde that reaſon was the onely thing, and not any divine command that mov'd them to enjoyne ſet forms of Liturgy. Firſt leſt any thing in generall might be miſſaid in their publick *Prayers* through ignorance, or want of care, contrary to the faith: and next, leſt the Arians, and Pelagians in particular ſhould infect the people by their hymns, and formes of Praier. By the leave of theſe ancient Fathers, this was no ſolid prevention of ſpreadding Hæreſy to debarre the Miniſters of God the uſe of their nobleſt talent, Praier in the Congregation, unleſſe they had forbid the uſe of Sermons, and Lectures too, but ſuch as were ready made to their hands as our Homelies, or elſe he that was heretically diſpos'd, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his diſcours, as in his Praier or hymn. As inſufficiently, and to ſay truth, as imprudently did they provide by their contrived Liturgies, leſt any thing ſhould be erroneouſly praid through ignorance, or want of care in the Miniſters. For if they were careleſſe, and ignorant in their Praiers, certainly they would be more careleſſe in their Preaching, and yet more careleſſe in watching over their Flock, and what preſcription could reach to bound them in both theſe? What if reaſon now illuſtrated by the word of God, ſhall be able to produce a better prevention then theſe Councells have left us againſt hereſie, ignorance or want of care in the Miniſtry, that ſuch wiſdome, and diligence be us'd in the education of thoſe that would be Miniſters, and ſuch ſtrict, and ſerious examination to be undergone ere their admiſſion as Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* ſets down at large, and then they need not carry ſuch an unworthy ſuſpicion over the Preachers

of Gods word, as to tutor their unſoundneſſe with the Abcie of a Liturgy, or to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a Mattin, and even ſong drench. And this may ſuffice after all your laborſome ſcrutinie of the Councels.

P. 17.] *Remon.* Our Saviour was pleas'd to make uſe in the celebration of his laſt and heavenly Banket both of the faſhions, and words which were uſual in the Jewiſh Feaſts.

Anſw. What he pleas'd to make uſe of, does not juſtify what you pleaſe to force.

Remon. The ſet forms of Praier at the Mincha.

Anſw. Wee will not buy your Rabbinical fumes, wee have one that calls us to buy of him pure gold tri'd in the fire.

Remon. In the Samaritan Chronicle.

Anſw. As little doe wee eſteem your Samaritan trumpery, of which people *Chriſt* himſelfe teſtifies, *Yee worſhip you know not what.*

P. 18.] *Remon.* They had their ſeverall Songs.

Anſw. And ſo have wee our ſeverall Pſalmes for ſeverall occaſions, without gramercy to your Liturgy.

P. 19.] *Remon.* Thoſe forms which we have under the names of Saint *Iames* &c. though they have ſome interſertions which are plainly ſpurious, yet the ſubſtance of them cannot be taxt for other then holy, and ancient.

Anſw. Setting aſide the odde coinage of your phraſe, which no mintmaiſter of language would allow for ſterling, that a thing ſhould be taxt for no other then holy, and ancient, let it be ſuppos'd the ſubſtance of them may ſavour of ſomething holy, or ancient, this is but the matter; the forme, and the end of the thing may yet render it either ſuperſtitious, fruitleſſe, or impious, and ſo, worthy to be rejected. The Garments of a Strumpet are often the ſame materially, that cloath a chaſt Matron, and

yet ignominious for her to weare, the ſubſtance of the tempters words to our Saviour were holy, but his drift nothing leſſe.

Remon. In what ſenſe we hold the Roman, a true Church is ſo clear'd that this iron is too hot for their fingers.

Anſw. Have a care it be not the iron to ſear your own conſcience.

P. 23.] *Remon.* Ye need not doubt but that the alteration of the *Liturgie* will be conſidered by wiſer heads then your owne.

Anſw. We doubt it not becauſe we know your head lookes to be one.

Remon. Our *Liturgie* Symbolizeth not with *Popiſh* Maſſe, neither as Maſſe nor as *Popiſh*.

Anſw. A pretty ſlip-ſkin conveyance to ſift Maſſe into no Maſſe and *Popiſh* into not *Popiſh*; yet ſaving this paſſing fine ſophiſticall boulting hutch, ſo long as ſhe ſymbolizes in forme, and pranks her ſelfe in the weeds of *Popiſh* Maſſe, it may be juſtly fear'd ſhee provokes the jealouſie of God, no otherwiſe then a wife affecting whoriſh attire kindles a diſturbance in the eye of her diſcerning huſband.

P. 24.] *Remon.* If I finde gold in the Channell; ſhall I throw it away becauſe it was ill laid?

Anſw. You have forgot that gold hath been anathematiz'd for the idolatrous uſe, and to eat the good creatures of God once offer'd to Idols, is in Saint *Pauls* account to have fellowſhip with Devils, and to partake of the Devils Table. And thus you throttle your ſelfe with your owne Similies.

Remon. If the Devils confeſt the Son of God, ſhall I diſclaime that truth?

Anſw. You ſifted not ſo clean before, but you ſhuffle as foulely now: as if there were the like neceſſity of confeſſing Chriſt, and uſing the *Liturgie:* wee doe not diſclaime that truth; becauſe wee

never beleev'd it for his teſtimonie, but wee may well reject a *Liturgie* which had no being that wee can know of, but from the corrupteſt times: if therefore the Devill ſhould be given never ſo much to *Prayer*, I ſhould not therfore ceaſe from that duty, becauſe I learn't it not from him; but if hee would commend to me a new *Pater noſter*, though never ſo ſeeming holy, hee ſhould excuſe me the forme which was his, but the matter, which was none of his, he could not give me, nor I bee ſaid to take it from him. 'Tis not the goodneſſe of matter therefore which is not, nor can be ow'd to the *Liturgie*, that will beare it out, if the form, which is the eſſence of it, be fantaſtick, and ſuperſtitious, the end ſiniſter, and the impoſition violent.

Remon. Had it beene compoſed into this frame on purpoſe to bring Papiſts to our Churches.

Anſw. To bring them to our Churches? alas what was that? unleſſe they had beene firſt fitted by repentance, and right inſtruction. You'l ſay the word was there preach't which is the meanes of converſion; you ſhould have given ſo much honour then to the word preach't, as to have left it to Gods working without the interloping of a Liturgy baited for them to bite at.

Remon. The Project had been charitable and gracious.

Anſw. It was Phariſaicall, and vain-glorious, a greedy deſire to win Proſelites by conforming to them unlawfully, like the deſire of *Tamar*, who to raiſe up ſeed to her Huſband ſate in the common road dreſt like a Curtezan, and he that came to her committed inceſt with her. This was that which made the old Chriſtians Paganize, while by their ſcandalous and baſe conforming to heatheniſme they did no more, when they had done thir utmoſt, but bring ſome Pagans to Chriſtianize; for true Chriſ-

tians they neither were themſelves, nor could make others ſuch in this faſhion.

P. 25.] *Remon.* If there be found ought in *Liturgie* that may indanger a ſcandall, it is under carefull hands to remove it.

Anſw. Such carefull hands as have ſhowne themſelves ſooner bent to remove and expell the men from the ſcandals, then the Scandals from the men, and to loſe a Soule rather then a ſillable or a Surplice.

Remon. It is idoliz'd they ſay in *England*, they mean at *Amſterdam*.

Anſw. Be it Idoliz'd therefore where it will, it is only Idolatriz'd in *England*.

Remon. Multitudes of people they ſay diſtaſt it, more ſhame for thoſe that have ſo miſtaught them.

Anſw. More ſhame for thoſe that regard not the troubling of Gods Church with things by themſelves confeſt to be indifferent, ſince true charity is afflicted, and burns at the offence of every little one. As for the Chriſtian multitude which you affirme to be ſo miſtaught, it is evident enough, though you would declaime never ſo long to the contrarie, that God hath now taught them to deteſt your *Liturgie* and *Prelacie:* God who hath promis'd to teach all his Children, and to deliver them out of your hands that hunt and worry their ſoules: hence is it that a man ſhall commonly find more ſavoury knowledge in one Lay-man, then in a dozen of Cathedrall *Prelates*, as we read in our Saviours time that the common people had a reverent eſteeme of him, and held him a great prophet whilſt the gowned *Rabbies*, the incomparable, and invincible Doctors were of opinion that hee was a friend of *Beelzebub*.

P. 26.] *Remon.* If the multitude diſtaſt wholſome doctrine, ſhall we to humor them abandon it.

Anſw. Yet againe? as if there were the like neceſſity of ſaving Doctrine, and arbitrary if not unlaw-

full, or inconvenient *Liturgie:* who would have thought a man could have thwackt together ſo many incongruous ſimilitudes, had it not been to defend the motley incoherence of a patch'd Miſſall?

Remon. Why did not other Churches conforme to us, I may boldly ſay ours was, and is the more noble Church.

Anſw. O *Laodicæan*, how vainly, and how carnally doſt thou boaſt of nobleneſſe, and precedency! more Lordly you have made our Church indeed, but not more noble.

P. 27.] *Remon.* The ſecond *quære* is ſo weak, that I wonder it could fall from the pens of wiſemen.

Anſw. Y'are but a bad Fencer, for you never make a proffer againſt another mans weakneſſe; but you leave your owne ſide alwayes open: mark what followes.

Remon. Brethren, can yee thinke that our reformers had any other intentions then all other the founders of *Liturgies*, the leſt part of whoſe care was the help of the Miniſters weakneſſe.

P. 12.] *Anſw.* Doe you not perceive the nooſe you have brought your ſelfe into whilſt you were ſo briefe to taunt other men with weakneſſe? is it cleane out of your mind what you cited from among the Councels; that the principall ſcope of thoſe *Liturgie*-founders was to prevent either the malice or the weakneſſe of the Miniſters, their malice of infuſing hereſie in their formes of *Prayer*, their weakneſſe, leſt ſomthing might be compoſed by them through ignorance or want of care contrary to the faith: is it not now rather to bee wondred that ſuch a weakneſſe could fall from the pen of ſuch a wiſe *Remonſtrant* Man?

Remon. Their maine drift was the help of the peoples devotion that they knowing before the matter that ſhould be ſued for.

Anſw. A ſollicitous care, as if the people could be gnorant of the matter to be prayd for; ſeeing the ıeads of publique *Prayer* are either ever conſtant, ›r very frequently the ſame.

Remon. And the words wherwith it ſhould be loth'd, might be the more prepar'd, and bee ſo nuch the more intent, and leſſe diſtracted.

Anſw. As for the words, it is more to be fear'd eſt the ſame continually ſhould make them careleſſe ›r ſleepie, then that varietie on the ſame knowne ubject ſhould diſtract; variety (as both Muſick and Rhethorick teacheth us) erects and rouſes an Audiory, like the maiſterfull running over many Cords nd diviſions; whereas if men ſhould ever bee thumning the drone of one plaine Song, it would bee a lull Opiat to the moſt wakefull attention.

P. 30.] *Remon.* Tell me is this *Liturgie* good or vill?

Anſw. It is evill: repaire the *Acheloian* horne of our *Dilemma* how you can, againſt the next puſh.

Remon. If it be evill, it is unlawfull to be us'd.

Anſw. We grant you, and we finde you have not our ſalve about you.

Remon. Were the impoſition amiſſe, what is that o the people?

Anſw. Not a little, becauſe they beare an equall ›art with the *Prieſt* in many places, and have their ues and verſets as well as he.

P. 31.] *Remon.* The eares and hearts of our peo›le looke for a ſettl'd *Liturgie*.

Anſw. You deceive your ſelfe in their eares and ıearts, they looke for no ſuch matter.

Remon. The like anſwer ſerves for *Homelies*, ſurely were they enjoyn'd to all, &c.

Anſw. Let it ſerve for them that will bee ignoant, we know that *Hayward* their owne creature vrites that for defect of *Preachers Homelies* were ap-

pointed to bee read in Churches, while *Edw.* 6. reigned.

P. 32.] *Remon.* Away then with the Booke whilſt it may be ſupply'd with a more profitable nonſence.

Anſw. Away with it rather, becauſe it will bee hardly ſupply'd with a more unprofitable non-ſcence, then is in ſome paſſages of it to be ſeene.

Sect. 3. *P.* 32.] *Remon.* Thus their cavills concerning *Liturgy* are vaniſh't.

Anſw. You wanted but *Hey-paſſe* to have made your tranſition like a myſticall man of *Sturbridge.* But for all your ſleight of hand our juſt exceptions againſt *Liturgie* are not vaniſht, they ſtare you ſtill in the face.

Remon. Certainly had I done ſo, I had beene no leſſe worthy to bee ſpit upon for my ſaucy uncharitableneſſe, then they are now for their uncharitable falſhood.

Anſw. Wee ſee you are in choler, therefore till you coole a while wee turne us to the ingenuous Reader. See how this *Remonſtrant* would inveſt himſelfe conditionally with all the rheume of the Towne, that hee might have ſufficient to beſpaul his Brethren. They are accus'd by him of uncharitable falſhood, whereas their onely crime hath beene that they have too credulouſly thought him if not an over-logicall, yet a well-meaning man; but now we find him either groſſly deficient in his principles of *Logick,* or elſe purpoſely bent to delude the *Parliament* with equivocall Sophiſtry, ſcattering among his periods ambiguous words, whoſe interpretation he will afterwards diſpence according to his pleaſure; laying before us univerſall propoſitions, and then thinks when he will to pinion them with a limitation: for ſay *Remonſtrant.*

Remon. Epiſcopall government is cry'd down abroad by either weak or factious perſons.

Anſw. Chooſe you whether you will have this 'opoſition prov'd to you to be ridiculous, or ſophiſ- :all; for one of the two it muſt be. Step againe Biſhop *Downam* your Patron, and let him gently techiſe you in the grounds of *Logick*, he will ſhew ıu that this axiom Epiſcopall Goverment is cry'd ıwne abroad by either weak or factious perſons, is much as to ſay, they that cry downe Epiſcopacy ıroad are either weake or factious perſons. He ill tell you that this axiom containes a diſtribution, ıd that all ſuch axioms are generall; and laſtly that diſtribution in which any part is wanting, or abun- ınt, is faulty, and fallacious. If therfore diſtri- ıting by the adjuncts of faction, and weaknes the :rſons that decry *Epiſcopacy*, you made your diſtri- ıtion imperfect for the nonce, you cannot but be ıilty of fraud intended toward the honourable Court, whom you wrote. If you had rather vindicate ıur honeſty, and ſuffer in your want of Art, you ınnot condemne them of uncharitable falſhood, that tributed to you more ſkill then you had, thinking ıu had beene able to have made a diſtribution, as it ıght to be, generall, and full, and ſo any man would ke it, the rather as being accompanied with that rge word (abroad) and ſo take againe either your anifeſt leſing, or manifeſt ignorance.

P. 34.] *Remon.* Now come theſe brotherly Slan- :rers.

Anſw. Goe on diſſembling *Ioab*, as ſtill your uſe , call brother and ſmite; call brother and ſmite, till bee ſaid of you, as the like was of *Herod*, a man ıd better be your hog then your Brother.

Remon. Which never came within the verge of ıy thoughts.

Anſw. Take a Metaphor or two more as good, ıe Precinct, or the Dioceſſe of your thoughts.

Remon. Brethren, if you have any remainders of ıodeſty or truth cry God mercy.

Anſw. *Remonſtrant*, if you have no ground-worke of *Logick*, or plain-dealing in you, learne both as faſt as you can.

Remon. Of the ſame ſtraine is their witty deſcant of my confoundednes.

Anſw. Speak no more of it, it was a fatall word, that God put into your mouth when you began to ſpeak for Epiſcopacy, as boding confuſion to it.

P. 35.] *Remon.* I am ſtill, and ſhall ever be thus ſelfe-confounded, as confidently to ſay that hee is no peaceable, and right affected Son of the Church of *England* that doth not wiſh well to *Liturgie*, and *Epiſcopacie*.

Anſw. If this bee not that ſaucie uncharitableneſſe, with which in the fore-going page you voluntarily inveſted your ſelfe with thought to have ſhifted it off, let the *Parliament* judge who now themſelves are deliberating whether *Liturgie*, and *Epiſcopacy* be to be well wiſh't to, or no.

Remon. This they ſay they cannot but rank amongſt my notorious—ſpeake out Maiſters, I would not have that word ſtick in your teeth, or in your throat.

Anſw. Take your ſpectacles Sir, it ſticks in the paper, and was a pectorall Roule wee prepar'd for you to ſwallow downe to your heart.

P. 36.] *Remon.* Wanton wits muſt have leave to play with their owne ſterne.

Anſw. A Meditation of yours doubtleſſe obſerv'd at *Lambeth* from one of the *Archiepiſcopall Kittens*.

Remonſt. p. 18.] *Remon.* As for that forme of Epiſcopall Goverment, ſurely could thoſe looke with my eyes, they would ſee cauſe to be aſhamed of this their injurious miſconceit.

Anſw. We muſt call the Barber for this wiſe ſentence: one Mr. *Ley* the other day writ a Treatiſe of the *Sabbath*, and in his *Preface* puts the wiſedome of *Balaams* Aſſe upon one of our *Biſhops*, bold man for

his labour; but we ſhall have more reſpect to our *Remonſtrant*, and liken him to the Aſſes Maiſter, though the Story ſay hee was not ſo quick-ſighted as his Beaſt. Is not this *Balaam* the ſon of *Beor*, the man whoſe eyes are open, that ſaid to the *Parliament* ſurely could thoſe looke with my eyes; boaſt not of your eyes, 'tis fear'd you have *Balaams* diſeaſe, a pearle in your eye, *Mammons* Præſtriction.

P. 37.] *Remon.* Alas we could tell you of *China*, *Japan*, *Peru*, *Braſil*, *New England*, *Virginia*, and a thouſand others that never had any *Biſhops* to this day.

Anſw. O do not foile your cauſe thus, and trouble *Ortelius*, we can help you, and tell you where they have bin ever ſince *Conſtantines* time at leaſt, in a place call'd *Mundus alter et idem*, in the ſpacious, and rich Countries of *Crapulia*, *Pamphagonia*, *Yvronia*, and in the Dukedome of *Orgilia*, and *Variana* and their *Metropolis* of *Ucalegonium*. It was an overſight that none of your prime *Antiquaries* could think of theſe venerable Monuments to deduce *Epiſcopacy* by: knowing that *Mercurius Britanicus* had them forthcomming.

Sect. 4.] *Remon.* Hitherto they have flouriſh't, now I hope they will ſtrike.

Anſw. His former tranſition was in the faire about the Jugglers, now he is at the *Pageants* among the Whifflers.

P. 43.] *Remon.* As if Arguments were *Almanacks*.

Anſw. You will find ſome ſuch as will prognoſticate your date, and tell you that after your long *Summer Solſtice* the *Æquator* calls for you, to reduce you to the ancient, and equall houſe of *Libra*.

Remon. Truely brethren you have not well taken the heighth of the *Pole*.

Anſw. No marvell, there be many more that doe

not take well the height of your pole; but will take better the declination of your altitude.

P. 44.] *Remon.* Hee that ſaid I am the way, ſaid that the old way was the good way.

Anſw. He bids aſk of the old paths, or for the old wayes, where or which is the good way; which implies that all old wayes are not good; but that the good way is to be ſearcht with diligence among the old wayes, which is a thing that wee doe in the oldeſt Records wee have, the Goſpell. And if others may chance to ſpend more time with you in canvaſſing later antiquity, I ſuppoſe it is not for that they ground themſelves thereon; but that they endeavour by ſhewing the corruptions, incertainties, and diſagreements of thoſe Volumes, and the eaſines of erring, or overſlipping in ſuch a boundleſſe and vaſt ſearch, if they may not convince thoſe that are ſo ſtrongly perſwaded thereof; yet to free ingenuous minds from that over-awfull eſteeme of thoſe more ancient then truſty fathers whom cuſtome and fond opinion, weake principles, and the neglect of ſounder and ſuperior knowledge hath exalted ſo high, as to have gain'd them a blind reverence: whoſe Books in bigneſſe, and number ſo endleſſe, and immeſurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine, or humane wiſdome did ever meane ſhould bee a rule or reliance to us in the deciſion of any weighty, and poſitive Doctrine. For certainly, every rule, and inſtrument of neceſſary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be ſo in proportion as may bee weilded and manag'd by the life of man without penning him up from the duties of humane ſociety, and ſuch a rule and inſtrument of knowledge perfectly is the holy Bible. But hee that ſhall bind himſelfe to make Antiquity his rule, if hee read but part, beſides the difficulty of choyce, his rule is deficient, and utterly unſatisfying; for there may bee other Writers of an-

other mind which hee hath not ſeene, and if hee undertake all, the length of mans life cannot extend to give him a full and requiſite knowledge of what was done in Antiquity. Why doe wee therefore ſtand worſhipping, and admiring this unactive, and liveleſſe *Coloſſus*, that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children, and weaklings lifts up his club, but ſtrikes not, and is ſubject to the muting of every Sparrow. If you let him reſt upon his *Baſis*, hee may perhaps delight the eyes of ſome with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint workmanſhip of his maſſie limbs; but if yee goe about to take him in pieces, yee marre him; and if you thinke like *Pigmees* to turne and wind him whole as hee is, beſides your vaine toile and ſweat, he may chance to fall upon your owne heads. Goe therefore, and uſe all your Art, apply your ſledges, your levers, and your iron crows to heave and hale your mighty *Polyphem* of Antiquity to the deluſion of Novices, and unexperienc't Chriſtians. Wee ſhall adhere cloſe to the Scriptures of God which hee hath left us as the juſt and adequate meaſure of truth, fitted, and proportion'd to the diligent ſtudy, memory, and uſe of every faithfull man, whoſe every part conſenting and making up the harmonious *Symmetry* of compleat inſtruction, is able to ſet out to us a perfect man of God or *Biſhop* throughly furniſh't to all the good works of his charge:* and with this weapon, without ſtepping a foot further, wee ſhall not doubt to batter, and throw down your *Nebuchadnezzars* Image and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer threſhing floores, as well the gold of thoſe Apoſtolick Succeſſors that you boaſt of, as your *Conſtantinian* ſilver, together with the iron, the braſſe, and the clay of thoſe muddy and ſtrawy ages that follow.

* 2 Tim. 3. 16. 17.

P. 45.] *Remon.* Let the boldeſt forehead of them all deny that *Epiſcopacie* hath continued thus long in our Iland, or that any till this age contradicted it.

Anſw. That bold forehead you have cleanly put upon your ſelfe, 'tis you who deny that any till this Age contradicted it; no forehead of ours dares do ſo much: you have row'd your ſelfe fairly between the *Scylla* and *Charibdis* either of impudence, or nonſence, and now betake you to whether you pleaſe.

Remon. As for that ſupply of acceſſory ſtrength which I not begg.

Anſw. Your whole *Remonſtrance* does nothing elſe but beg it and your fellow-*Prelates* do as good as whine to the *Parliamant* for their Fleſh-pots of *Egypt*, making ſad Orations at the Funerall of your deare *Prelacie*, like that doubtie Centurion *Afranius* in *Lucian*, who to imitate the noble *Pericles* in his *Epitaphian* ſpeech, ſtepping up after the battell to bewaile the ſlaine *Severianus*, falls into a pittifull condolement, to think of thoſe coſtly ſuppers, and drinking banquets, which he muſt now taſte of no more; and by then he had done, lack't but little to lament the deare-loved memory, and calamitous loſſe of his Capon, and whitebroth.

Remon. But raiſe, and evince from the light of Nature, and rules of juſt policie, for the continuance of thoſe things which long uſe and many lawes have firmely eſtabliſh't as neceſſary and beneficiall.

Anſw. Open your eyes to the light of grace, a better guide then Nature. Look upon the meane condition of *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*, without that acceſſory ſtrength you take ſuch paines to raiſe from the light of Nature, and Policie: take Divine Counſell, *Labour not for the things that periſh;* you would be the ſalt of the earth, if that ſavour be not found in you, doe not thinke much that the time is now come to throw you out, and tread you under foot.

Hark how S. *Paul* writing to *Timothy* informs a true *Biſhop*. *Biſhops* (ſaith he) *muſt not be greedy of filthy lucre, and having food and rayment, let us bee therewith content: but they* (ſaith hee, meaning more eſpecially in that place *Biſhops*) *that will be rich fall into temptation, and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh, and hurtfull luſts, which drowne men in deſtruction, and perdition:* for *the love of money is the root of all evill, which while ſome coveted after, they have erred from the faith.* How can wee therefore expect ſound Doctrine, and the ſolution of this our controverſie from any covetous, and honour-hunting *Biſhop* that ſhall plead ſo ſtiffly for theſe things, while St. *Paul* thus exhorts, every *Biſhop: But thou O man of God flye theſe things.* As for the juſt policie, that long uſe and cuſtome, and thoſe many Lawes which you ſay have conferr'd theſe benefits upon you, it hath been nothing elſe but the ſuperſtitious devotion of *Princes* and great men that knew no better, or the baſe importunity of begging *Friers*, haunting and haraſſing the deathbeds of men departing this life in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit Heaven for the building of *Churches*, *Cloyſters*, and *Covents*. The moſt of your vaunted poſſeſſions, and thoſe proud endowments that yee as ſinfully waſt, what are they but the black revennues of *Purgatorie*, the price of abuſed, and murder'd ſoules, the damned *Simony* of *Trentals*, and *Indulgences* to mortall Sin: how can ye chooſe but inherit the curſe that goes along with ſuch a Patrimony. Alas! if there be any releaſement, any mitigation, or more tolerable being for the ſoules of our miſguided Anceſtors, could wee imagine there might be any recovery to ſome degree of eaſe left for as many of them as are loſt; there cannot bee a better way then to take the miſbeſtowed wealth which they were cheated of, from theſe our *Prelates*, who are the true Succeſſors of thoſe that

popt them into the other world with this conceit of meriting by their goods, which was their finall undoing: and to beſtow their beneficent gifts upon places and meanes of Chriſtian education; and the faithfull labourers in Gods harveſt, that may inceſſantly warn the poſterity of *Dives* leſt they come where their miſerable fore-father was ſent by the couſenage and miſleading of avaritious and worldly *Prelates*.

Remon. It will ſtand long enough againſt the battry of their paper-pellets.

Anſw. That muſt be try'd without a ſquare cap in the Counſell, and if pellets will not doe, your owne Canons ſhall be turn'd againſt you.

Remon. They cannot name any man in this Nation that ever contradicted *Epiſcopacie*, till this preſent Age.

Anſw. What an over-worne and bedrid Argument is this, the laſt refuge ever of old falſhood, and therefore a good ſigne I truſt that your Caſtle cannot hold out long. This was the plea of *Iudaiſme*, and Idolatry againſt *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, of *Papacie* againſt Reformation: and perhaps to the frailty of fleſh and blood in a man deſtitute of better enlight'ning, may for ſome while bee pardonable; for what ha's fleſhly apprehenſion other to ſubſiſt by then Succeſſion, Cuſtome, and Viſibility, which onely hold if in his weakneſſe and blindneſſe he be loath to loſe, who can blame? but in a *Proteſtant* Nation that ſhould have throwne off theſe tatter'd Rudiments long agoe, after the many ſtrivings of Gods Spirit, and our fourſcore yeares vexation of him in this our wilderneſſe ſince Reformation began, to urge theſe rotten Principles, and twit us with the preſent age, which is to us an age of ages wherein God is manifeſtly come downe among us, to doe ſome remarkable good to our Church or ſtate, is as if a man ſhould taxe the

renovating and re-ingendring Spirit of God with innovation, and that new creature for an upſtart noveltie; yea the new Ieruſalem, which without your admired linke of ſucceſſion deſcends from Heaven, could not ſcape ſome ſuch like cenſure. If you require a further anſwer, it will not miſbecome a Chriſtian to bee either more magnanimous, or more devout then *Scipio* was, who in ſtead of other anſwer to the frivolous accuſations of *Petilius* the *Tribune; This day Romans* (ſaith he) *I fought with* Hanibal *proſperouſly; let us all goe and thank the gods that gave us ſo great a victory:* in like manner will we now ſay, not caring otherwiſe to anſwer this un-Proteſtant-like Objection: in this Age, *Brittains* God hath reform'd his Church after many hundred yeers of *Popiſh* corruption; in this Age hee hath freed us from the intolerable yoke of *Prelats*, and *Papall* Diſcipline; in this age he hath renewed our *Proteſtation* againſt all thoſe yet remaining dregs of ſuperſtition: Let us all goe every true proteſted *Brittaine* throughout the 3. *Kingdoms*, and render thanks to God the Father of light, and fountaine of heavenly grace, and to his ſon CHRIST our Lord; leaving this *Remonſtrant* and his adherents to their owne deſignes, and let us recount even here without delay the patience and long ſuffering that God hath us'd towards our blindneſſe and hardnes time after time. For he being equally neere to his whole Creation of Mankind, and of free power to turne his beneſick and fatherly regard to what Region or Kingdome he pleaſes, hath yet ever had this Iland under the ſpeciall indulgent eye of his providence; and pittying us the firſt of all other Nations, after he had decreed to purifie and renew his Church that lay wallowing in Idolatrous pollutions, ſent firſt to us a healing meſſenger to touch ſoftly our ſores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knockt once and twice

and came againe, opening our drouſie eye-lids leaſurely by that glimmering light which *Wickleſ*, and his followers diſpers't, and ſtill taking off by degrees the inveterat ſcales from our nigh periſht ſight, purg'd alſo our deaf eares, and prepar'd them to attend his ſecond warning trumpet in our Grandſires dayes. How elſe could they have beene able to have receiv'd the ſudden aſſault of his reforming Spirit warring againſt humane Principles, and carnall ſenſe, the pride of fleſh that ſtill cry'd up Antiquity, Cuſtome, Canons, Councels and Lawes, and cry'd down the truth for noveltie, ſchiſme, profaneneſſe and Sacriledge: when as we that have liv'd ſo long in abundant light, beſides the ſunny reflection of all the neighbouring Churches, have yet our hearts rivetted with thoſe old opinions, and ſo obſtructed and benumm'd with the ſame fleſhly reaſonings, which in our forefathers ſoone melted and gave way, againſt the morning beam of *Reformation*. If God had left undone this whole worke ſo contrary to fleſh and blood, till theſe times, how ſhould wee have yeelded to his heavenly call, had we beene taken, as they were, in the ſtarknes of our ignorance, that yet after all theſe ſpirituall preparatives, and purgations have our earthly apprehenſions ſo clamm'd and furr'd with the old levin. O if we freeze at noone after their earely thaw, let us feare leſt the Sunne for ever hide himſelfe, and turne his orient ſteps from our ingratefull Horizon juſtly condemn'd to be eternally benighted. Which dreadfull judgement O thou the ever-begotten light, and perfect Image of the Father intercede may never come upon us, as we truſt thou haſt; for thou haſt open'd our difficult and ſad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppreſſions; thou haſt done juſtice upon thoſe that tyranniz'd over us, while ſome men waver'd, and admir'd a vaine ſhadow of wiſedome in a tongue no-

thing ſlow to utter guile, though thou haſt taught us to admire onely that which is good, and to count that onely praiſe-worthy which is grounded upon thy divine Precepts. Thou haſt diſcover'd the plots, and fruſtrated the hopes of all the wicked in the Land; and put to ſhame the perſecutors of thy Church; thou haſt made our falſe *Prophets* to be found a lie in the ſight of all the people, and chac'd them with ſudden confuſion and amazement before the redoubled brightneſſe of thy deſcending cloud that now covers thy Tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walke through the midſt of thy Sanctuary, amidſt thoſe golden *candleſticks*, which have long ſuffer'd a dimneſſe amongſt us through the violence of thoſe that had ſeiz'd them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold then of their ſtarry light; teaching the doctrine of *Balaam* to caſt a ſtumbling-block before thy ſervants, commanding them to eat things ſacrifiz'd to Idols, and forcing them to fornication. Come therefore O thou that haſt the ſeven ſtarres in thy right hand, appoint thy choſen *Preiſts* according to their Orders, and courſes of old, to miniſter before thee, and duely to dreſſe and powre out the conſecrated oyle into thy holy and ever-burning lamps; thou haſt ſent out the ſpirit of prayer upon thy ſervants over all the Land to this effect, and ſtirr'd up their vowes as the ſound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can ſay that now certainly thou haſt viſited this land, and haſt not forgotten the utmoſt corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou waſt gone up from us to the fartheſt end of the Heavens, and hadſt left to doe marvellouſly among the ſons of theſe laſt Ages. O perfect, and accompliſh thy glorious acts; for men may leave their works unfiniſht, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection; ſhouldſt thou bring us thus far onward from *Egypt* to deſtroy

us in this Wilderneſſe though wee deſerve; ye
great name would ſuffer in the rejoycing of t
enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy ſerv
When thou haſt ſettl'd peace in the Church,
righteous judgement in the Kingdome, then ſha
thy Saints addreſſe their voyces of joy, and triu
to thee, ſtanding on the ſhoare of that red Sea
which our enemies had almoſt driven us. An
that now for haſte ſnatches up a plain ungarn
preſent as a thanke-offering to thee, which coul
bee deferr'd in regard of thy ſo many late del
ances wrought for us one upon another, may
perhaps take up a Harp, and ſing thee an elab
Song to Generations. In that day it ſhall no
bee ſaid as in ſcorne, this or that was never he
till this preſent Age, when men have better l
that the times and ſeaſons paſſe along under thy
to goe and come at thy bidding, and as thou
dignifie our fathers dayes with many revelations a
all the fore-going ages, ſince thou tookſt the f
ſo thou canſt vouchſafe to us (though unworth
large a portion of thy ſpirit as thou pleaſeſt; for
ſhall prejudice thy all-governing will? ſeeing
power of thy grace is not paſt away with the pr
tive times, as fond and faithleſſe men imagine,
thy Kingdome is now at hand, and thou ſtandir
the dore. Come forth out of thy Royall Cham
O Prince of all the Kings of the earth, put on
viſible roabes of thy imperiall Majeſty, take up
unlimited Scepter which thy Almighty Father
bequeath'd thee; for now the voice of thy Bride
thee, and all creatures ſigh to bee renew'd.

Sect. 5.] *Remon.* Neglect not the gift which
given thee by *Prophecie*, and by laying on the h
of *Preſbytery*.

Anſw. The Engliſh Tranſlation expreſſes the
ticle (*the*) and renders it the *Preſbytery* which
doe injury to omitt.

P. 50.] *Remon.* Which I wonder yee can so
reſſe, when *Calvin* himſelf takes it of the Office,
nd not of the Men.

Anſw. You think then you are fairly quit of this
roofe, becauſe *Calvin* interprets it for you, as if we
ould be put off with *Calvins* name, unleſſe we be
onvinc't with *Calvins* reaſon; the word πρεσβυτέριον
a collective Nowne ſignifying a certain number of
nen in one order, as the word privy Councell with
s, and ſo *Beza* interprets, that knew *Calvins* mind
oubtleſſe with whom he liv'd. If any among us
hould ſay the privy Counſell ordain'd it, and thereby
onſtraine us to underſtand one mans authoritie,
hould we not laugh at him? And therefore when
ou have us'd all your cramping irons to the Text,
nd done your utmoſt to cramme a *Preſbyterie* into
he ſkin of one perſon, 'twill be but a piece of frugall
on-ſenſe. But if your meaning be with a violent
nd bold *Hyperbaton* to tranſpoſe the Text, as if the
Vords lay thus in order, neglect not the gift of
Preſbytery; this were a conſtruction like a *Harque-
uze* ſhot over a File of words twelve deep without
uthority to bid them ſtoop, or to make the word
ift like the River *Mole* in *Surrey* to runne under
he bottome of a long Line, and ſo ſtart up to go-
erne the word *Preſbyterie*, as in immediate *Syntaxis*,
device ridiculous enough to make good that old
vives tale of a certaine Queene of *England* that ſunk
t *Charing-croſſe*, and roſe up at *Queene-hithe*. No
narvell though the *Prelates* bee a troubleſome ge-
neration, and which way ſoever they turne them, put
ll things into a foule diſcompoſure, when to main-
aine their domineering they ſeeke thus to rout, and
liſ-aray the wiſe and well-couch't order of Saint
Pauls owne words, uſing either a certain textuall riot
o chop off the hands of the word *Preſbyterie*, or els
like kind of *Simony* to clap the word *gift* betweene

them. Besides, if the verse must be read according to this transposition, μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, it would be improper to call ordination χάρισμα, when as it is rather onely χείρισμα, an outward testimony of approbation, unless they will make it a Sacrament as the *Papists* doe: But surely the *Prelates* would have Saint *Pauls* words rampe one over another, as they use to clime into their Livings and *Bishopricks*.

Remon. Neither need wee give any other satisfaction to the point, then from Saint *Paul* himselfe, 2 *Timoth*. 1. 6. *Stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands*; mine, and not others.

Answ. Y'are too quick; this last place is to bee understood by the former, as the Law of Method, which beares cheife sway in the Art of teaching, requires, that clearest and plainest expressions bee set formost, to the end they may enlighten any following obscurity; and wherefore wee should not attribute a right Method to the teachablenesse of Scripture, there can bee no reason given: to which Method, if wee shall now goe contrarie, besides the breaking of a Logicall rule, which the *Remonstrant* hitherto wee see hath made little account of, wee shall also put a manifest violence, and impropriety upon a knowne word against his common signification in binding a Collective to a singular person. But if wee shall as *Logicke* (or indeed Reason) instructs us, expound the latter place by the former cited, and understand (by the Imposition of my hands) that is, of mine cheifly as an *Apostle*, with the joynt authority and assistance of the *Presbyterie*, there is nothing more ordinary, or kindly in speech, then such a phrase as expresses onely the cheife in any action, and understands the rest. So that the imposition of Saint *Pauls* hands, without more expression in this place cannot exclude the joynt Act of the *Presbyterie* affirm'd by the former Text.

P. 76.] *Remon.* In the meane while ſee Brethren how you have with *Simon* fiſht all night, and caught nothing.

Anſw. If we fiſhing with *Simon* the Apoſtle can catch nothing; ſee what you can catch with *Simon Magus;* for all his hooks, and fiſhing implements he bequeath'd among you.

Sect. 13.] *Remon.* We doe againe profeſſe; that if our *Biſhops* challenge any other power then was delegated to, and required of *Timothy*, and *Titus*, wee ſhall yeeld them uſurpers.

Anſw. Ye cannot compare an ordinary *Biſhop* with *Timothy*, who was an extraordinary man foretold and promis'd to the Church by many Prophecies, and his name joyn'd as collaterall with Saint *Paul*, in moſt of his Apoſtolick Epiſtles, even where hee writes to the *Biſhops* of other Churches, as thoſe in *Philippi*. Nor can you prove out of the Scripture that *Timothy* was *Biſhop* of any particular place; for that wherein it is ſaid in the third Verſe of the firſt *Epiſtle: As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at Epheſus*, will be ſuch a gloſſe to prove the conſtitution of a *Biſhop* by, as would not onely be not ſo good as a *Burdeaux* gloſſe; but ſcarſe be receiv'd to varniſh a *Viſard* of *Modona*. All that can bee gather'd out of holy Writ concerning *Timothy* is that hee was either an *Apoſtle*, or an *Apoſtles* extraordinary Vice-gerent, not confin'd to the charge of any place. The like may bee ſaid of *Titus*, (as thoſe words import in the 5. Verſe,) that he was for that cauſe left in *Creet*, that he might ſupply, or proceed to ſet in order that which Saint *Paul* in Apoſtolick manner had begun, for which hee had his particular Commiſſion, as those words ſound, *(as I had appointed thee.)* So that what hee did in *Creet*, cannot ſo much be thought the exerciſe of an ordinary Function, as the direction of an inſpired mouth. No leſſe alſo may be gather'd from the 2 *Cor.* 8. 23.

Remon. You deſcend to the Angels of the ſeven *Aſian* Churches, your ſhift is that the Angell is heere taken collectively, not individually.

Anſw. That the word is collective appeares plainly, *Revel.* 2.

Firſt, Becauſe the Text it ſelfe expounds it ſo; for having ſpoken all the while as to the Angell, the ſeventh verſe concludes that this was ſpoken to the Churches. Now if the Spirit conclude collectively, and kept the ſame Tenor all the way; for we ſee not where he particularizes, then certainly hee muſt begin collectively, elſe the conſtruction can bee neither *Grammatticall* nor *Logicall.*

Secondly, if the word *Angel* be individuall; then are the faults attributed to him individuall: but they are ſuch as for which God threatens to remove the Candleſtick out of his place, which is as much as to take away from that Church the light of his truth: and wee cannot thinke he would doe ſo for one *Biſhops* fault. Therefore thoſe faults muſt be underſtood collective, and by conſequence the ſubject of them collective.

Thirdly, an individuall cannot branch it ſelfe into ſubindividuals; but this word *Angel* doth in the tenth Verſe. *Feare none of thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer; behold the Devill ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon.* And the like from other places of this and the following Chapter may be obſervd. Therefore it is no individuall word, but a Collective.

Fourthly, in the 24. Verſe this word *Angel* is made capable of a *Pronoune plurall,* which could not bee, unleſſe it were a Collective, as for the ſuppoſed Manuſcript of *Tecla,* and two or three other Copies that have expung'd the Copulative, wee cannot preferre them before the more receiv'd reading, and wee hope you will not againſt the Tranſlation of your Mother the Church of *England,* that paſs't the

eviſe of your cheifeſt *Prelates:* Beſides this, you vill lay an unjuſt cenſure upon the much-praiſed *Biſhop* of *Thyatira*, and reckon him among thoſe hat had the Doctrine of *Ieſabel*, when the Text ayes *he onely ſuffer'd her*. Whereas, if you will but et in a charitable conjunction, as wee know your ſo nuch call'd-for Charity will not deny, then you lainly acquit the *Biſhop*, if you comprehend him in he name of *Angel*, otherwiſe you leave his caſe very loubtfull.

P. 105.] *Remon. Thou ſuffereſt thy Wife* IESABEL: vas ſhee Wife to the whole Company, or to one *Biſhop* alone?

Anſw. Not to the whole company doubtles, for hat had bin worſe then to have bin the *Levites* wife n *Gibeah:* but heere among all thoſe that conſtantly ead it otherwiſe, whom you trample upon, your ood Mother of *England* is downe againe in the hrong, who with the reſt reads it, *that Woman* eſabel: but ſuppoſe it were Wife, a man might s well interpret that word figuratively, as her name *Ieſabel* no man doubts to be a borrow'd name.

P. 111.] *Remon.* Yet what makes this for a Dioceſan *Biſhop?* much every way.

Anſw. No more then a ſpeciall endorſement could nake to puffe up the foreman of a Iury. If wee leny you more precedence, then as the *Senior* of any ociety, or deny you this priority to bee longer then Annuall. Prove you the contrary from hence, if ou can. That you thinke to doe from the title of minence, *Angel:* alas your wings are too ſhort. Tis not Ordination nor Iuriſdiction that is Angeliall, but the heavenly meſſage of the Goſpell, which s the office of all Miniſters alike; in which ſenſe *Iohn* the *Baptiſt* is call'd an *Angel*,* which in Greeke

* Math. 11.

ſignifies a Meſſenger, as oft as it is meant by a man, and might be ſo render'd heere without treaſon to the *Hierarchy;* but that the whole Booke ſoares to a Prophetick pitch in types, and Allegories. Seeing then the reaſon of this borrow'd name is meerely to ſignifie the preaching of the Goſpell, and that this preaching equally appertaines to the whole *Miniſtery;* hence may bee drawne a fifth argument, that if the reaſon of this borrowed name, Angel, be equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching miniſtry of the place, then muſt the name be collectively, and communicatively taken; but the reaſon, that is to ſay, the office of preaching and watching over the Flock is equally collective and communicative. Therefore the borrow'd name it ſelfe, is to be underſtood as equally collective, and communicative to the whole preaching miniſtery of the place; and if you will contend ſtill for a ſuperiority in one perſon, you muſt ground it better then from this metaphor, which you may now deplore as the Axe head that fell into the water, and ſay, Alas Maſter, for it was borrow'd, unleſſe you have, as good a faculty to make Iron ſwim, as you had to make light froth ſink.

P. 124.] *Remon.* What is, if this be not ordination, and juriſdiction?

Anſw. Indeed in the conſtitution, and founding of a Church, that ſome men inſpir'd from God ſhould have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and diſpoſe, muſt needs be. So *Moſes*, though himſelfe no prieſt, ſanctify'd, and ordain'd *Aaron* and his ſons; but when all needfull things be ſet and regulated by the writings of the Apoſtles, whether it be not a meere folly to keep up a ſuperiour degree in the Church onely for ordination, and juriſdiction, it will be no hurt to debate a while. The Apoſtles were the builders, and as it were the Architects of the

Chriſtian Church; wherein conſiſted their excellence above ordinary miniſters? a Prelate would ſay in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them and ſending from about them to all countryes their Biſhops and Archbiſhops as their deputies, with a kind of Legantine power. No, no, vaine Prelates, this was but as the Scaffolding of a new edifice which for the time muſt board, and overlooke the higheſt battlements, but if the ſtructure once finiſh't, any paſſenger ſhould fall in love with them, and pray that they might ſtill ſtand, as being a ſingular grace, and ſtrengthning to the houſe, who would otherwiſe thinke, but that the man were preſently to be laid hold on, and ſent to his friends and kindred. The eminence of the Apoſtles conſiſted in their powerfull preaching, their unwearied labouring in the Word, their unquenchable charity, which above all earthly reſpects like a working flame, had ſpun up to ſuch a height of pure deſire, as might be thought next to that love which dwels in God to ſave ſoules; which, while they did, they were contented to be the off-ſcouring of the world, and to expoſe themſelves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unſpeakable. As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands, an outward ſigne or ſymbol of admiſſion? it creates nothing, it conferres nothing; it is the inward calling of God that makes a Miniſter, and his own painfull ſtudy and diligence that manures and improves his miniſteriall gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had receiv'd ordination from the Apoſtles, had done the Church noble ſervice, as *Apollos*, and others; it is but an orderly forme of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge, the imployment of Preaching is as holy, and farr more excellent, the care alſo and judgement to be us'd in the

winning of ſoules, which is thought to be ſufficient in every worthy Miniſter, is an ability above that which is requir'd in ordination: For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a miniſter, that would not be found fit to be made Miniſters themſelves, as it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like. Why therefore wee ſhould conſtitute a ſuperiour order in the Church to performe an office which is not onely every miniſters function, but inferiour alſo to that which hee has a confeſt right to, and why this ſuperiority ſhould remaine thus uſurp'd, ſome wiſe *Epimenides* tell us. Now for juriſdiction this deare Saint of the Prelates, it will be beſt to conſider, firſt, what it is: That ſoveraigne Lord, who in the diſcharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made him ſupreame Biſhop of our ſoules was ſo humble as to ſay, Who made me a Judge, or a divider over yee, hath taught us that a Church-mans juriſdiction is no more but to watch over his flock in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, to deale by ſweet, and efficacious inſtructions; gentle admonitions, and ſomtimes rounder reproofs: againſt negligence, or obſtinacy will be requir'd a rouſing volie of Paſtorly threatnings, againſt a perſiſting ſtubbornes or the feare of a reprobate ſenſe, a timely ſeparation from the flock by that interdictive ſentence, leſt his converſation unprohibited, or unbranded might breath a peſtilentiall murrein into the other ſheepe. In ſumme, his juriſdiction is to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted: what other work the Prelates have found for Chancellours and ſuffragans, Delegates and Officialls, with all the hell peſtering rabble of Sumners and Apparitors, is but an invaſion upon the temporall Magiſtrate, and affected by them as men that are not aſham'd of the enſigne and banner of

Antichriſt. But true Evangelicall juriſdiction or diſcipline, is no more, as was ſaid, then for a Miniſter to ſee to the thriving and proſpering of that which he hath planted. And which is the worthieſt worke of theſe two, to plant, as every Miniſters office is equally with the Biſhops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiſcerning Prelates call juriſdiction, and would appropriate to themſelves as a buſineſſe of higher dignity? Have patience therefore a little, and heare a Law caſe: A certaine man of large poſſeſſions, had a faire Garden, and kept therein an honeſt and laborious ſervant, whoſe ſkill and profeſſion was to ſet or ſow all wholſome herbs, and delightfull flowers, according to every ſeaſon, and what ever elſe was to be done in a well-huſbanded nurſery of plants and fruits; now, when the time was come that he ſhould cut his hedges, prune his trees, looke to his tender ſlips, and pluck up the weeds that hinder'd their growth, he gets him up by breake of day, and makes account to doe what was needfull in his garden, and who would thinke that any other ſhould know better than he how the dayes work was to be ſpent? Yet for all this there comes another ſtrange Gardener that never knew the ſoyle, never handl'd a Dibble or Spade to ſet the leaſt pot-herbe that grew there, much leſſe had endur'd an houres ſweat or chilneſſe, and yet challenges as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every buſh, the weeding and worming of every bed both in that, and all other Gardens thereabout; the honeſt Gardener, that ever ſince the day-peepe, till now the Sunne was growne ſomewhat ranke, had wrought painfully about his bankes and ſeed-plots at this commanding voyce, turnes ſuddenly about with ſome wonder, and although hee could have well beteem'd to have thankt him of the eaſe hee profer'd, yet

loving his owne handiworke, modeſtly refus'd him, telling him withall, that for his part, if hee had thought much of his owne paines, he could for once have committed the worke to one of his fellow-labourers, for as much as it is well knowne to be a matter of leſſe ſkill and leſſe labour to keepe a Garden handſome, then it is to plant it, or contrive it, and that he had already perform'd himſelfe. No, ſaid the ſtranger, this is neither for you nor your fellowes to meddle with, but for me onely that am for this purpoſe in dignity farre above you, and the proviſion which the Lord of the ſoyle allowes me in this office is, and that with good reaſon, ten fold your wages; the Gardener ſmil'd and ſhooke his head, but what was determin'd I cannot tell you till the end of this Parliament.

P. 127.] *Remon.* If in time you ſhall ſee wooden chalices, and wooden prieſts, thanke your ſelves.

Anſw. It had beene happy for this land, if your prieſts had beene but onely wooden, all *England* knowes they have been to this Iland not wood, but wormewood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that Apoſtate ſtarre in the Revelation; that many ſoules have di'd of their bitterneſſe; and if you meane by wooden, illiterate, or contemptible, there was no want of that ſort among you, and their number increaſing daily, as their lazineſſe, their Tavern-hunting, their neglect of all ſound literature, and their liking of doltiſh and monaſticall Schoolemen daily increaſt. What ſhould I tell you how the Univerſities, that men looke ſhould be fountaines of learning and knowledge, have been poyſon'd and choak'd under your governance? and if to be wooden be to be baſe, where could there be found among all the reformed Churches, nay, in the Church of *Rome* it ſelfe a baſer brood of flattering and time-ſerving prieſts, according as God pronounces by *Iſaiah*, the

›phet that teacheth lies he is the taile. As for ır young ſchollers that petition for Biſhopricks l Deaneries to incourage them in their ſtudies, l that many Gentlemen elſe will not put their s to learning, away with ſuch young mercenary plings and their Simoniacall fathers, God has no :de of ſuch, they have no part or lot in his Vine-d, they may as well ſue for Nunneries, that they y have ſome convenient ſtowage for their wither'd ıghters, becauſe they cannot give them portions werable to the pride and vanity they have bred m in; this is the root of all our miſchiefe, that ich they alleage for the incouragement of their dies, ſhould be cut away forthwith as the very bait pride and ambition, the very garbage that drawes ether all the fowles of prey and ravin in the land come, and gorge upon the Church; how can it but ever unhappy to the Church of *England*, ile ſhee ſhall thinke to intice men to the pure vice of God by the ſame meanes that were us'd to ıpt our Saviour to the ſervice of the devill, by ing before him honour and preferment. Fit pro-ors indeed are they like to be, to teach others t godlineſſe with content is great gaine, whenas ir godlineſſe of teaching had not been but for rldly gaine. The heathen Philoſophers thought t vertue was for its owne ſake ineſtimable, and greateſt gaine of a teacher to make a ſoule ver-ıus; ſo *Xenophon* writes of *Socrates* who never gain'd with any for teaching them; he fear'd : leſt thoſe who had receiv'd ſo high a benefit m him, would not of their owne free-will returne n all poſſible thankes. Was morall vertue ſo ely, and ſo alluring, and heathen men ſo ena-ur'd of her, as to teach and ſtudy her with greateſt glect and contempt of worldly profit and advance-nt; and is Chriſtian piety ſo homely and ſo un-

pleaſant, and Chriſtian men ſo cloy'd with her, as that none will ſtudy and teach her, but for lucre and preferment! O ſtale-growne piety! O Goſpell rated as cheap as thy Maſter, at thirty pence, and not worth the ſtudy, unleſſe thou canſt buy thoſe that will ſell thee! O race of Capernaitans, ſenſleſſe of divine doctrine, and capable onely of loaves and belly-cheere! But they will grant, perhaps, piety may thrive, but learning will decay: I would faine aſke theſe men at whoſe hands they ſeeke inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, their lofty houſes? No doubt but they will ſoone anſwer that all theſe things they ſeeke at Gods hands. Doe they thinke then that all theſe meaner and ſuperfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of *Plutus*, or the cave of *Mammon*? Certainly never any cleare ſpirit nurſt up from brighter influences with a ſoule inlarg'd to the dimenſions of ſpacious art and high knowledge ever enter'd there but with ſcorn, and thought it ever foule diſdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his ſtudies, it being the greateſt honor, the greateſt fruit and proficiency of learned ſtudies to deſpiſe theſe things. Not liberal ſcience, but illiberal muſt that needs be that mounts in contemplation meerely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling Clergy though never ſo learned? For ſuch can have neither true wiſdom nor grace, and then in vain do men truſt in learning, where theſe be wanting. If in leſſe noble and almoſt mechanik arts according to the difinitions of thoſe Authors, he is not eſteem'd to deſerve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like, that beares not a generous mind above the peaſantly regard of wages, and hire; much more muſt we thinke him a moſt imperfect, and incompleate Divine, who is ſo farre from being a contemner of filthy

lucre; that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly, and brutiſh hopes of a fat Prebendary, Deanery, or Biſhoprick, which poore and low pitch't deſires, if they doe but mixe with thoſe other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this ſtudy, it is juſtly expected that they ſhould bring forth a baſe born iſſue of Divinity like that of thoſe imperfect, and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two moſt unlike procreants the Sun, and mudde. And in matters of Religion, there is not any thing more intollerable, then a learned foole, or a learned Hypocrite, the one is ever coopt up at his empty ſpeculations, a ſot, an ideot for any uſe that mankind can make of him, or elſe ſowing the World with nice, and idle queſtions and with much toyle, and difficulty wading to his auditors up to the eyebrows in deep ſhallows that wet not the inſtep: a plaine unlearned man that lives well by that light which he has, is better, and wiſer, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life then he: The other is ſtill uſing his ſophiſticated arts and bending all his ſtudies how to make his inſatiate avarice, and ambition ſeem pious, and orthodoxall by painting his lewd and deceitfull principles with a ſmooth, and gloſſy varniſh in a doctrinall way to bring about his wickedeſt purpoſes. In ſtead of the great harme therefore that theſe men feare upon the diſſolving of Prelates, what an eaſe, and happineſſe will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away, that the cunningeſt and moſt dangerous mercenaries will ceaſe of themſelves to frequent the fold, whom otherwiſe ſcarce all the prayers of the faithfull could have kept back from devouring the flock? But a true Paſtor of Chriſts ſending hath this eſpeciall mark, that for greateſt labours, and greateſt merits in the Church, he requires either nothing, if he could ſo ſubſiſt, or a very common and reaſonable

ſupply of humane neceſſaries: Wee cannot therefore doe better then to leave this care of ours to God, he can eaſily ſend labourers into his Harveſt, that ſhall not cry, Give, give, but be contented with a moderate and beſeeming allowance; nor will hee ſuffer true learning to be wanting, where true grace, and our obedience to him abounds: for if he give us to know him aright, and to practice this our knowledge in right eſtabliſht diſcipline, how much more will hee repleniſh us with all abilities in tongues and arts, that may conduce to his glory, and our good? He can ſtirre up rich Fathers to beſtow exquiſite education upon their Children, and ſo dedicate them to the ſervice of the Goſpell; he can make the ſons of Nobles his Miniſters, and Princes to be his Nazarites; for certainely there is no imployment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great ſpirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture, then to be the meſſenger, and Herald of heavenly truth from God to man, and by the faithfull worke of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithfull men, making a kind of creation like to Gods, by infuſing his ſpirit and likeneſſe into them, to their ſalvation, as God did into him; ariſing to what climat ſoever he turne him, like that Sun of righteouſneſſe that ſent him, with healing in his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers, raiſing out of darkſome barrenneſſe a delicious, and fragrant Spring of ſaving knowledge, and good workes. Can a man thus imployd, find himſelfe diſcontented, or diſhonour'd for want of admittance to have a pragmaticall voyce at Seſſions, and Jayle deliveries? or becauſe hee may not as a Judge fit out the wrangling noyſe of litigious Courts to ſhreeve the purſes of unconfeſſing and unmortify'd ſinners, and not their ſoules, or be diſcourag'd though men call him not Lord, when as the due

erformance of his office would gaine him even from ords and Princes, the voluntary title of Father? vould he tugge for a Barony to ſit and vote in Parliament, knowing that no man can take from him he gift of wiſedome, and ſound doctrine which eaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a eacher, and perſwader of the Parliament? and in ll wiſe apprehenſions the perſwaſive power in man o win others to goodneſſe by inſtruction is greater, nd more divine, then the compulſive power to retraine men from being evill by terrour of the Law; nd therefore Chriſt left *Moſes* to be the Law-giver, ut himſelfe came downe amongſt us to bee a teacher, with which office his heavenly wiſedome was ſo well leas'd, as that he was angry with thoſe that would ave put a piece of temporall judicature into his ands, diſclaiming that he had any commiſſion from bove for ſuch matters.

Such a high calling therefore as this, ſends not for hoſe droſſy ſpirits that need the lure, and whiſtle of arthly preferment, like thoſe animals that fetch, and arry for a morſell, no. She can find ſuch as therefore ſtudy her precepts, becauſe ſhe teaches to deſpiſe preferment. And let not thoſe wretched Fathers thinke they ſhall impoveriſh the Church of willing, and able ſupply, though they keep back their ſordid ſperm begotten in the luſtineſſe of their avarice, and turne them to their malting-kils, rather let them take heed what leſſons they inſtill into that lump of fleſh which they are the cauſe of, leſt, thinking to offer him as a preſent to God, they diſh him out for the Devill. Let the novice learne firſt to renounce the world, and ſo give himſelfe to God, and not therefore give himſelfe to God, that hee may cloſe the better with the World, like that falſe Shepheard *Palinode* in the Eclogue of *May*, under whom the Poet lively perſonates our Prelates, whoſe whole

life is a recantation of their paſtorall vow, and whoſe profeſſion to forſake the World, as they uſe the matter, boggs them deeper into the world: Thoſe our admired *Spencer* inveighs againſt, not without ſome preſage of theſe reforming times.

The time was once, and may again returne
(For oft may happen that hath been beforn)
When Shepheards had none inheritance
Ne of land, nor fee in ſufferance,
But what might ariſe of the bare ſheep,
(Were it more or leſſe) which they did keep,
Well ywis was it with Shepheards tho.
Nought having, naught feared they to forgoe
For Pan *himſelfe was their inheritance*
And little them ſerved for their maintenance,
The Shepheards God ſo well them guided,
That of naught they were unprovided
Butter enough, honey, milk, and whay,
And their flock fleeces them to array.
But tract of Time, and long proſperity
(That nurſe of vice, this of inſolency)
Lulled the Shepheards in ſuch ſecurity
That not content with loyall obeyſance
Some gan to gape for greedy governance,
And match themſelves with mighty potentates
Lovers of Lordſhips, and troublers of States.
Tho gan Shepheards Swaines to looke aloft
And leave to live hard, and learne to lig ſoft.
Tho under colour of Shepheards ſome while
There crept in wolves full of fraud and guile
That often devoured their owne Sheep,
And often the Shepheard that did them keepe,
This was the firſt ſource of ſhepheards ſorrow
That now nill be quit with bale, nor borrow.

By all this wee may conjecture, how little wee needе feare that the unguilding of our Prelates will

ove the woodening of our Prieſts. In the meane hile, let no man carry in his head either ſuch narw, or ſuch evill eyes, as not to looke upon the hurches of *Belgia* and *Helvetia*, and that envied ty *Geneva:* where in the Chriſtian world doth arning more flouriſh than in theſe places? Not nong your beloved Jeſuits, nor their favourers, ough you take all the Prelates into the number, id inſtance in what kinde of learning you pleaſe. nd how in *England* all noble ſciences attending pon the traine of Chriſtian doctrine, may flouriſh ore than ever; and how the able profeſſors of every rt may with ample ſtipends be honeſtly provided; nd finally, how there may be better care had that eir hearers may benefit by them, and all this withit the Prelates, the courſes are ſo many and ſo eaſie, iat I ſhall paſſe them over.

Sect. 14. *p.* 129.] *Remon.* It is God that makes ie Biſhop, the King that gives the Biſhopricke, What can you ſay to this?

Anſw. What you ſhall not long ſtay for: we ſay : is God that makes a Biſhop, and the Devill that nakes him take a prelaticall Biſhoprick; as for the Kings gift, regall bounty may be excuſable in giving, where the Biſhops covetouſneſſe is damnable in aking.

P. 137.] *Remon.* Many eminent Divines of the Churches abroad have earneſtly wiſh'd themſelves in our condition.

Anſw. I cannot blame them, they were not onely eminent, but ſupereminent Divines, and for ſtomach nuch like to *Pompey* the great, that could indure no equall.

P. 139.] *Remon.* The Babylonian note ſounds well in your ears, Downe with it, downe with it even to the ground.

Anſw. You miſtake the matter, it was the Edo-

mitiſh note, but change it, and if you be an A
cry with the Angell, It is falne, it is falne.

Remon. But the God of Heav'n will, we
vindicate his owne Ordinance ſo long perpetuat
his Church.

Anſw. Goe rather to your God of this world
ſee if he can vindicate your Lordſhips, your te
rall and ſpirituall tyrannies, and all your pelfe
the God of heav'n is already come downe to v
cate his owne Ordinance from your ſo long p
tuated uſurpation.

Sect. 15. *p.* 141.] *Remon.* If yet you can b

Anſw. This is a more Edomitiſh conceit tha
former, and muſt be ſilenc'd with a counter qu
the ſame countrey. So often and ſo unſavouril
it been repeated, that the Reader may well
Downe with it, downe with it for ſhame. A
would thinke you had eaten over liberally of
red porrage, and from thence dreame continua
bluſhing; or, perhaps, to heighthen your fan
writing, are wont to ſit in your Doctors ſcarlet, v
through your eyes infecting your pregnant ima
tive with a red ſuffuſion, begets a continuall th
of bluſhing. That you thus perſecute inger
men over all your booke, with this one over
rubricall conceit ſtill of bluſhing; but if you
no mercy upon them, yet ſpare your ſelfe, leſ
bejade the good galloway, your owne opiniaſte
and make the very conceit it ſelfe bluſh with
galling.

Sect. 16. *p.* 148.] *Remon.* The ſcandalls o
inferiour Miniſters I deſir'd to have had leſſe
lique.

Anſw. And what your ſuperiour Archbiſh
Biſhops? O forbid to have it told in *Gath*
you. O dauber! and therefore remove not ir
ties from Iſrael. *Conſtantine* might have done

juſtly to have puniſh'd thoſe Clergicall faults which he could not conceale, than to leave them unpuniſh'd, that they might remaine conceal'd: better had it beene for him that the heathen had heard the fame of his juſtice, than of his wilfull connivence and partiality; and ſo the name of God and his truth had been leſſe blaſphem'd among his enemies, and the Clergie amended, which daily by this impunitie grew worſe and worſe. But, O to publiſh it in the ſtreetes of *Aſcalon!* Sure ſome colonie of Puritans have taken *Aſcalon* from the *Turke* lately, that the Remonſtrant is ſo afraid of *Aſcalon.* The Papiſts we know condole yee, and neither *Conſtantinople,* nor your neighbors of *Marocco* trouble you. What other *Aſcalon* can you allude to?

Remonſt. p. 37.] *Remon.* What a death it is to thinke of the ſport and advantage theſe watchfull enemies, theſe oppoſite ſpectators will be ſure to make of our ſinne and ſhame?

Anſw. This is but to fling and ſtrugle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to inviron you round.

Remonſt. p. 38.] *Remon.* No one Clergie in the whole Chriſtian world yeelds ſo many eminent ſcholler, learned preachers, grave, holy and accompliſh'd Divines as this Church of *England* doth at this day.

Anſw. Ha, ha, ha.

Remon. And long, and ever may it thus flouriſh.

Anſw. O peſtilent imprecation! flouriſh as it does at this day in the Prelates?

Remon. But oh forbid to have it told in *Gath!*

Anſw. Forbid him rather, Sacred Parliament, to violate the ſenſe of Scripture, and turne that which is ſpoken of the afflictions of the Church under her pagan enemies to a pargetted concealment of thoſe prelatical crying ſins; for from theſe is profaneneſſe gone forth into all the land; they have hid their eyes

from the Sabbaths of the Lord; they have fed themſelves, and not their flocks, with force and cruelty have they ruled over Gods people: They have fed his ſheep (contrary to that which Saint *Peter** writes) not of a ready mind, but for filthy lucre, not as examples to the flock, but as being Lords over Gods heritage; and yet this Dauber would daub ſtill with his untempered Morter: But hearken what God ſayes by the Prophet *Ezekiel*,† Say unto them that daub this wall with untempered Morter, that it ſhall fall, there ſhall be an overflowing ſhower, and yee O great hailſtones ſhall fall, and a ſtormy wind ſhall rend it, and I will ſay unto you, the wall is no more, neither they that daubt it.

P. 149.] *Remon.* Whether of us ſhall give a better account of our charity to the God of peace, I appeale?

Anſw. Your charity is much to your fellow offendors, but nothing to the numberleſſe ſoules that have beene loſt by their falſe feeding; uſe not therefore ſo ſillily the name of Charity as moſt commonly you doe, and the peacefull attribute of God to a preposterous end.

Sect. 17.] *Remon.* In the next Section, like ill bred ſons you ſpit in the face of your Mother the Church of *England.*

Anſw. What ſhould we doe or ſay to this *Remonſtrant?* that by his idle, and ſhallow reaſonings ſeemes to have been converſant in no Divinity, but that which is colourable to uphold Biſhopricks. Wee acknowledge, and beleeve the Catholick reformed Church, and if any man be diſpos'd to uſe a trope or figure, as Saint *Paul* once did in calling her the common Mother of us all, let him doe as his owne rethorick ſhall perſwade him. If therefore

* 1 Pet. 5. † Ezek. 13.

: muſt needs have a mother, and if the Catholick ıurch onely be, and muſt be ſhe, let all Genealogie l us if it can, what we muſt call the Church of *gland*, unleſſe we ſhall make every Engliſh Pro- tant a kind of poeticall *Bacchus*, to have two Mo- :rs: but marke Readers, the crafty ſcope of theſe elates, they endeavour to impreſſe deeply into weak, d ſuperſtitious fancies the awfull notion of a mo- :r, that hereby they might cheat them into a blind d implicite obedience to whatſoever they ſhall de- :e, or think fit. And if we come to aſke a reaſon ought from our deare mother, ſhe's inviſible, un- r the lock and key of the Prelates her ſpirituall ılterers, they onely are the internuntio's or the -betweens of this trim devis'd mummery: what- :ver they ſay ſhe ſayes, muſt be a deadly ſin of diſ- :dience not to beleeve. So that we who by Gods :ciall grace have ſhak'n off the ſervitude of a great ıle Tyrant, our pretended Father the Pope, ſhould w, if we be not betimes aware of theſe wily teach- ;, ſink under the ſlavery of a Female notion, the ıudy conception of a demy-Iland mother, and while : think to be obedient ſonnes, ſhould make our ves rather the Baſtards, or the Centaurs of their rituall fornications.

Remon. Take heed of the Ravens of the vally.

Anſw. The Ravens wee are to take heede on are ur ſelves, that would peck out the eyes of all owing Chriſtians.

Remon. Sit you merry Brethren.

Anſw. So we ſhall when the furies of Prelaticall nſciences will not give them leave to doe ſo.

Sect. 18. *p.* 160.] *Queries.* Whether they would t jeopard their eares rather, &c.

Anſw. A puniſhment that awaites the merits of ur bold accomplices for the lopping, and ſtigma- :ing of ſo many free borne Chriſtians.

P. 161.] *Remon.* Whether the profeſſed ſlovenlineſſe in Gods ſervice, &c.

Anſw. We have heard of *Aaron* and his linnen Amice, but thoſe dayes are paſt; and for your Prieſt under the Goſpell that thinks himſelfe the purer, or the cleanlier in his office for his new waſht Surpleſſe, we eſteem him for ſanctitie little better than *Apollonius Thyanæus* in his white frocke, or the Prieſt of *Iſis* in his lawne ſleeves, and they may all for holineſſe lie together in the ſuds.

Remon. Whether it were not moſt lawfull and juſt to puniſh your preſumption and diſobedience.

Anſw. The puniſhing of that which you call our preſumption and diſobedience lies not now within the execution of your fangs, the mercifull God above and our juſt Parliament will deliver us from your *Epheſian* beaſts, your cruell *Nimrods*, with whom we ſhall be ever feareleſſe to encounter.

Remon. God give you wiſdome to ſee the truth, and grace to follow it.

Anſw. I wiſh the like to all thoſe that reſiſt not the holy Ghoſt, for of ſuch God commands *Jeremie*, ſaying, Pray not thou for them, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make interceſſion to me, for I will not hear thee; and of ſuch Saint *John* ſaith, He that bids them God ſpeed, is partaker of their evill deeds.

To the Poſtſcript.

Remon. A goodly Paſquin borrow'd for a great part out of *Sions* plea, or the breviate conſiſting of a rhapſody of hiſtories.

Anſw. How wittily you tell us what your wonted courſe is upon the like occaſion: the collection was taken, be it knowne to you, from as authentique authors in this kinde, as any in a Biſhops library; and the collector of it ſayes moreover, that if the like

occaſion come againe, hee ſhall leſſe need the help of breviates, or hiſtoricall rhapſodies, than your reverence to eek out your ſermonings ſhall need repaire to *Poſtills*, or *Polianthea's*.

P. 164.] *Remon.* They were Biſhops you ſay, true, but they were Popiſh Biſhops.

Anſw. Since you would bind us to your juriſdiction by their Canon-law, ſince you would inforce upon us the old riffe-raffe of *Sarum*, and other monaſticall reliques, ſince you live upon their unjuſt purchaſes, alleage their authorities, boaſt of their ſucceſſion, walke in their ſteps, their pride, their titles, their covetouſneſſe, their perſecuting of Gods people, ſince you diſclaime their actions, and build their ſepulchres, it is moſt juſt, that all their faults ſhould be imputed to yee, and their iniquities viſited upon yee.

P. 166.] *Remon.* Could yee ſee no Colleges, no Hoſpitals built?

Anſw. At that *priméro* of piety the Pope and Cardinals are the better gameſters, and will cogge a Die into heav'n before you.

Remon. No Churches re-edified?

Anſw. Yes, more Churches then ſoules.

Remon. No learned volumes writ?

Anſw. So did the miſcreant Biſhop of *Spalatto* write learned volumes againſt the Pope, and run to *Rome* when he had done, yee write them in your cloſets, and unwrite them in your Courts, hot Volumiſts and cold Biſhops: a ſwaſhbuckler againſt the Pope, and a dormouſe againſt the Devil, while the whole Dioceſſe be ſown with tares, and none to reſiſt the enemy, but ſuch as let him in at the poſterne, a rare ſuperintendent at *Rome*, and a cipher at home. Hypocrites, the Goſpell faithfully preach'd to the poore, the deſolate pariſhes viſited and duely fed, loyterers throwne out, wolves driven from the

fold, had beene a better confutation of the Pope and Maſſe, than whole Hecatontomes of controverſies, and all this careering with ſpeare in reſt and thundering upon the ſteele cap of *Baronius* or *Bellarmine*.

Remon. No ſeduced perſons reclaim'd?

Anſw. More reclaimed perſons ſeduc'd.

Remon. No hoſpitality kept?

Anſw. Bacchanalia's good ſtore in every Biſhops family, and good gleeking.

Remon. No great offenders puniſh'd?

Anſw. The trophies of your high Commiſſion are renown'd.

Remon. No good offices done for the publique?

Anſw. Yes, the good office of reducing monarchie to tyrannie, of breaking pacifications, and calumniating the people to the King.

Remon. No care of the peace of the Church?

Anſw. No, nor of the land, witneſſe the two armies in the North that now lies plunder'd, and over-run by a liturgie.

Remon. No diligence in preaching?

Anſw. Scarce any preaching at all.

Remon. No holineſſe in living?

Anſw. No.

Remon. Truely brethren I can ſay no more, but that the fault is in your eyes.

Anſw. If you can ſay no more than this, you were a proper Remonſtrant to ſtand up for the whole tribe.

Remon. Wipe them, and looke better.

Anſw. Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light.

Remon. Yea, I beſeech God to open them rather that they may ſee good.

Anſw. If you meane good Prelates, let be your prayer, aſke not impoſſibilities.

Remon. As for that proverb, the Biſhops foot hath

been in it, it were more fit for a *Scurra* in *Trivio*, or ſom Ribald upon an Ale-bench.

Anſw. The fitter for them then of whom it was meant.

P. 167.] *Remon.* I doubt not but they will ſay, the Biſhops foot hath been in your booke, for I am ſure it is quite ſpoil'd by this juſt confutation; for your proverb, *Sapit Ollam.*

Anſw. Spoyld quoth ye? indeed it is ſo ſpoyld, as a good ſong is ſpoyld by a lewd ſinger, or as the ſaying is, God ſends meat, but the Cooks worke their wills; in that ſenſe we grant your Biſhops foot may have ſpoyld it, and made it *Sapere ollam*, if not *Sapere aulam*, which is the ſame in old Latin, and perhaps in plaine Engliſh. For certaine your confutation hath atchiev'd nothing againſt it, and left nothing upon it, but a foule taſte of your ſkillet foot, and a more perfect and diſtinguiſhable odour of your ſocks, then of your night-cap. And how the Biſhop ſhould confute a book with his foot, unleſſe his braines were dropt into his great toe, I cannot meet with any man that can reſolve me, onely they tell me that certainly ſuch a confutation muſt needs be goutie. So much for the Biſhops foot.

Remon. You tell us of *Bonners* broth, it is the faſhion in ſome countries to ſend in their Keal in the laſt ſervice, and this it ſeemes, is the manner amongſt our Smectimnuans.

Anſw. Your latter ſervice at the high Altar you mean; but ſoft Sir, the feaſt was but begun, the broth was your owne, you have been inviting the Land to it this foureſcore yeares, and ſo long we have been your ſlaves to ſerve it up for you, much againſt our wils, we know you have the Beefe to it, ready in your Kitchins, we are ſure it was almoſt ſod before this Parliament begun; what direction you have given ſince to your Cooks to ſet it by in

the Pantry till ſome fitter time, we know not, and therefore your deare jeſt is loſt; this broth was but your firſt ſervice: Alas Sir, why doe you delude your gueſts? Why doe not thoſe goodly Flanks and Briſkets march up in your ſtately chargers? doubtleſſe, if need be, the Pope that owes you for mollifying the matter ſo well with him, and making him a true Church, will furniſh you with all the fat Oxen of *Italy*.

Remon. Learned, and worthy Doctor *Moulin* ſhall tell them.

Anſw. *Moulin* ſayes in his booke of the calling of Paſtors, that becauſe Biſhops were the reformers of the Engliſh Church, therefore they were left remaining: This argument is but of ſmall force to keepe you in your Cathedrals. For firſt it may be deny'd that Biſhops were our firſt Reformers, for *Wickliffe* was before them, and his egregious labours are not to be neglected, beſides our Biſhops were in this worke but the diſciples of Prieſts, and began the reformation before they were Biſhops: But what though *Luther* and other Monks were the reformers of other places; does it follow therefore that Monks ought to continue? No, though *Luther* had taught ſo: and laſtly, *Moulins* argument directly makes againſt you, for if there be nothing in it, but this, Biſhops were left remaining becauſe they were the reformers of the Church, by as good a conſequence therefore they are now to be remov'd, becauſe they have been the moſt certaine deformers and ruiners of the Church. Thus you ſee how little it availes you to take Sanctuary among thoſe Churches which in the generall ſcope of your actions formerly you have diſregarded, and deſpis'd, however your faire words would now ſmooth it over otherwiſe.

P. 168.] *Remon.* Our Biſhops ſome whereof being

crown'd with Martyrdome, ſubſcrib'd the Goſpell with their blood.

Anſw. You boaſt much of Martyrs to uphold your Epiſcopacy, but if you would call to minde what *Euſebius* in his 5. l. recites from *Apolinarius* of *Hierapolis*, you ſhould then heare it eſteem'd no other then an old hereticall argument, to prove a poſition true, becauſe ſome that held it were martyrs: this was that wich gave boldneſſe to the *Marcioniſts*, and *Cataphryges* to avouch their impious hereſies for pious doctrine, becauſe they could reckon many Martyrs of their ſect, and when they were confuted in other points, this was ever their laſt and ſtouteſt plea.

Remon. In the mean time I beſeech the God of Heaven to humble you.

Anſw. We ſhall beſeech the ſame God to give you a more profitable, and pertinent humiliation, then yet you know, and a leſſe miſtaken charitableneſſe, with that peace which you have hitherto ſo perverſely miſaffected.

An Apology againſt a Pamphlet call'd A Modeſt Confutation of the Animadverſions upon the Remonſtrant againſt SMECTYMNUUS.

IF, Readers, to that ſame great difficulty of well doing what we certainly know, were not added in moſt men as great a careleſſenes of knowing what they, and others ought to do, we had bin long ere this, no doubt but all of us much farther on our way to ſome degree of peace and happineſſe in this kingdome. But ſince our ſinfull neglect of practiſing that which we know to be undoubtedly true and good, hath brought forth among us, through Gods juſt anger ſo great a difficulty now to know that which otherwiſe might be ſoone learnt, and hath divided us by a controverſie of great importance indeed, but of no hard ſolution, which is the more our puniſhment, I reſolv'd (of what ſmall moment ſoever I might be thought) to ſtand on that ſide where I ſaw both the plain autority of Scripture leading, and the reaſon of juſtice and equity perſwading; with this opinion which eſteemes it more unlike a Chriſtian to be a cold neuter in the cauſe of the Church, then the law of *Solon* made it puniſhable after a ſedition in the

State. And becauſe I obſerve that feare and dull diſpoſition, lukewarmeneſſe and ſloth are not ſeldomer wont to cloak themſelves under the affected name of moderation, then true and lively zeale is cuſtomably diſpareg'd with the terme of indiſcretion, bitterneſſe, and choler, I could not to my thinking honor a good cauſe more from the heart, then by defending it earneſtly, as oft as I could judge it to behoove me, notwithſtanding any falſe name that could be invented to wrong, or undervalue an honeſt meaning. Wherein although I have not doubted to ſingle forth more then once, ſuch of them as were thought the chiefe and moſt nominated oppoſers on the other ſide, whom no man elſe undertooke: if I have done well either to be confident of the truth, whoſe force is beſt ſeene againſt the ableſt reſiſtance, or to be jealous and tender of the hurt that might be done among the weaker by the intrapping autority of great names titl'd to falſe opinions, or that it be lawfull to attribute ſomewhat to guifts of Gods imparting, which I boaſt not, but thankfully acknowledge, and feare alſo leſt at my certaine account they be reckon'd to me many rather then few, or if laſtly it be but juſtice not to defraud of due eſteeme the wariſome labours and ſtudious watchings, wherein I have ſpent and tir'd out almoſt a whole youth, I ſhall not diſtruſt to be acquitted of preſumption. Knowing that if heretofore all ages have receav'd with favour and good acceptance the earlieſt induſtry of him that hath beene hopefull, it were but hard meaſure now, if the freedome of any timely ſpirit ſhould be oppreſt meerely by the big and blunted fame of his elder adverſary; and that his ſufficiency muſt be now ſentenc't, not by pondering the reaſon he ſhewes, but by calculating the yeares he brings. However, as my purpoſe is not, nor hath beene formerly, to looke on my adverſary

abroad, through the deceaving glaſſe of other mens great opinion of him, but at home, where I may finde him in the proper light of his owne worth, ſo now againſt the rancor of an evill tongue, from which I never thought ſo abſurdly, as that I of all men ſhould be exempt, I muſt be forc't to proceed from the unfained and diligent inquiry of mine owne conſcience at home (for better way I know not, Readers) to give a more true account of my ſelfe abroad then this modeſt Confuter, as he calls himſelfe, hath given of me. Albeit that in doing this I ſhall be ſenſible of two things which to me will be nothing pleaſant; the one is, that not unlikely I ſhall be thought too much a party in mine owne cauſe, and therein to ſee leaſt; the other, that I ſhall be put unwillingly to moleſt the publick view with the vindication of a private name; as if it were worth the while that the people ſhould care whether ſuch a one were thus, or thus. Yet thoſe I intreat who have found the leaſure to reade that name, however of ſmall repute, unworthily defam'd, would be ſo good and ſo patient as to heare the ſame perſon not unneedfully defended. I will not deny but that the beſt apology againſt falſe accuſers is ſilence and ſufferance, and honeſt deeds ſet againſt diſhoneſt words. And that I could at this time moſt eaſily, and ſecurely, with the leaſt loſſe of reputation uſe no other defence, I need not deſpaire to win beliefe. Whether I conſider both the fooliſh contriving, and ridiculous aiming of theſe his ſlanderous bolts, ſhot ſo wide of any ſuſpicion to be faſtn'd on me, that I have oft with inward contentment perceav'd my friends congratulating themſelves in my innocence, and my enemies aſham'd of their partners folly. Or whether I look at theſe preſent times wherein moſt men now ſcarce permitted the liberty to think over their owne concernments have remov'd the ſeat of their

ıoughts more outward to the expectation of pub-
:k events. Or whether the examples of men,
ther noble or religious, who have ſat downe lately
ith a meeke ſilence and ſufferance under many
bellous endorſements, may be a rule to others, I
ıight well appeaſe my ſelf to put up any reproaches
ı ſuch an honourable ſociety of fellow-ſufferers
ſing no other defence. And were it that ſlan-
:r would be content to make an end where it
rſt fixes, and not ſeek to caſt out the like infamy
pon each thing that hath but any relation to the
erſon traduc't, I ſhould have pleaded againſt this
'onfuter by no other advocates, then thoſe which I
rſt commended, Silence, and Sufferance, and ſpeak-
ıg deeds againſt faltering words. But when I diſ-
:rn'd his intent was not ſo much to ſmite at me, as
ırough me to render odious the truth which I had
'ritten, and to ſtaine with ignominy that Evange-
:k doctrine which oppoſes the tradition of Prelaty,
conceav'd my ſelfe to be now not as mine own
erſon, but as a member incorporate into that truth
'hereof I was perſwaded, and whereof I had declar'd
penly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it
ıy duty, if not to my ſelfe, yet to the religious cauſe
had in hand, not to leave on my garment the leaſt
ɔot, or blemiſh in good name ſo long as God ſhould
ive me to ſay that which might wipe it off. Leſt
ıoſe diſgraces which I ought to ſuffer, if it ſo befall
ıe, for my religion, through my default religion be
ıade liable to ſuffer for me. And, whether it might
ıot ſomething reflect upon thoſe reverent men whoſe
riend I may be thought in writing the Animadver-
ions, was not my laſt care to conſider, if I ſhould
eſt under theſe reproaches having the ſame com-
non adverſary with them, it might be counted ſmall
redit for their cauſe to have found ſuch an aſſiſtant,
s this babler hath devis'd me. What other thing

in his book there is of dispute, or question, in answering thereto I doubt not to be justifi'd; except there be who will condemne me to have wasted time in throwing downe that which could not keepe it selfe up. As for others who notwithstanding what I can allege have yet decreed to mis-interpret the intents of my reply, I suppose they would have found as many causes to have misconceav'd the reasons of my silence.

TO beginne therefore an Apology for those animadversions which I writ against the Remonstrant in defence of *Smectymnus*, since the Preface, which was purposely set before them, is not thought apologeticall anough; it will be best to acquaint ye, Readers, before other things, what the meaning was to write them in that manner which I did. For I do not look to be askt wherefore I writ the book, it being no difficulty to answer that I did it to those ends which the best men propose to themselves when they write. But wherfore in that manner neglecting the maine bulk of all that spacious antiquity, which might stunne children, but not men, I chose rather to observe some kinde of military advantages to await him at his foragings, at his watrings, and when ever he felt himselfe secure to solace his veine in derision of his more serious opponents. And here let me have pardon, Readers, if the remembrance of that which he hath licenc't himselfe to utter contemptuously of those reverend men provoke me to doe that over againe which some expect I should excuse as too freely done; since I have two provocations, his lateſt insulting in his short answer, and their finall patience. I had no fear but that the authors of *Smectymnus* to all the shew of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepar'd both with skill and purpose to

ıe a ſuffizing anſwer, and were able anough to
ıe duſt and pudder in antiquity, which he and
ıut of ſtratagem, are wont to raiſe; but when I
ıis weake arguments headed with ſharpe taunts,
that his deſigne was, if he could not refute
, yet at leaſt with quips and ſnapping adagies
pour them out, which they bent only upon the
eſſe were minded to let paſſe, by how much I ſaw
taking little thought for their own injuries, I
confeſſe I took it as my part the leſſe to endure that
eſpected friends through their own unneceſſary
nce ſhould thus lye at the mercy of a coy flurt-
tile; to be girded with frumps and curtall
, by one who makes ſentences by the Statute,
all above three inches long were confiſcat. To
t ſeem'd an indignity, that whom his whole
ɔme could not move from their place, them his
tuous folly ſhould preſume to ride over. And
vere more warme then was meet in any paſſage
at booke, which yet I do not yeild, I might uſe
:in the patronage of no worſe an author then
ory Nyſſen, who mentioning his ſharpneſſe againſt
mius in the defence of his brother *Baſil*, holds
elſe irreprovable in that it *was not for himſelfe,*
n the cauſe of his brother; and in ſuch caſes, ſaith
erhaps it is worthier pardon to be angry, then to
ler. And whereas this Confuter taxes the whole
urſe of levity, I ſhall ſhew ye, Readers, where-
:r it ſhall be objected in particular that I have
er'd with as little lightneſſe as the Remonſtrant
given example. I have not beene ſo light as
ɔalme of a Biſhop which is the lighteſt thing in
vorld when he brings out his book of Ordina-
: For then contrary to that which is wont in
ſing out of priſon, any one that will pay his fees
rd hands on. Another reaſon, it would not be
ſe though the Remonſtrant were told, where-

fore he was in that unusuall manner beleaguer'd; and this was it, to pluck out of the heads of his admirers the conceit that all who are not Prelaticall, are grosse-headed, thick-witted, illiterat, shallow. Can nothing then but Episcopacy teach men to speak good English, to pick and order a set of words judiciously? Must we learne from Canons and quaint Sermonings interlin'd with barbarous Latin to illumin a period, to wreath an Enthymema with maistrous dexterity? I rather encline, as I have heard it observ'd, that a Jesuits Italian when he writes, is ever naught, though he be borne and bred a *Florentine*, so to thinke that from like causes we may go neere to observe the same in the stile of a Prelat. For doubtlesse that indeed according to art is most eloquent, which returnes and approaches neerest to nature from whence it came; and they expresse nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be call'd regenerate reason. So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withall a good man, I see not. Never the lesse as oft as is to be dealt with men who pride themselves in their supposed art, to leave them unexcusable wherin they will not be better'd there be of those that esteeme Prelaty a figment, who yet can pipe, if they can dance, nor will be unfurnisht to shew that what the Prelats admire and have not, others have and admire not. The knowledge whereof, and not of that only, but of what the Scripture teacheth us how we ought to withstand the perverters of the Gospell were those other motives which gave the animadversions no leave to remit a continuall vehemence throughout the book. For as in teaching, doubtlesse the Spirit of meeknesse is most powerfull, so are the meeke only fit persons to be taught: as for the proud, the obstinate, and false Doctors of mens devices, be taught they will not; but discover'd and

laid open they muſt be. For how can they admit of teaching who have the condemnation of God already upon them for refuſing divine inſtruction; that is, to be *fill'd with their own devices*, as in the Proverbs we may reade; therefore we may ſafely imitate the method that God uſes; *with the froward to be froward, and to throw ſcorne upon the ſcorner*, whom if any thing, nothing elſe will heale. And if *the righteous ſhall laugh at the deſtruction of the ungodly*, they may alſo laugh at their pertinacious and incurable obſtinacy, and at the ſame time be mov'd with deteſtation of their ſeducing malice, who imploy all their wits to defend a Prelaty uſurpt, and to deprave that juſt government, which pride and ambition partly by fine fetches and pretences, partly by force, hath ſhoulder'd out of the Church. And againſt ſuch kind of deceavers openly and earneſtly to proteſt, leſt any one ſhould be inquiſitive wherefore this or that man is forwarder then others, let him know that this office goes not by age, or youth, but to whomſoever God ſhall give apparently the will, the Spirit, and the utterance. Ye have heard the reaſons for which I thought not my ſelfe exempted from aſſociating with good men in their labours toward the Churches wellfare: to which if any one brought oppoſition, I brought my beſt reſiſtance. If in requitall of this and for that I have not been negligent toward the reputation of my friends, I have gain'd a name beſtuck, or as I may ſay, bedeckt with the reproaches and reviles of this modeſt Confuter, it ſhall be to me neither ſtrange, nor unwelcome; as that which could not come in a better time.

Having render'd an account, what induc't me to write thoſe animadverſions in that manner as I writ them, I come now to ſee what the confutation hath to ſay againſt them; but ſo as the confuter ſhall

hear firſt what I have to ſay againſt his confutation. And becauſe he pretends to be a great conjector at other men by their writings, I will not faile to give ye, Readers, a preſent taſte of him from his own title; hung out like a toling ſigne-poſt to call paſſengers, not ſimply *a confutation* but *a modeſt confutation* with a laudatory of it ſelfe obtruded in the very firſt word. Whereas a modeſt title ſhould only informe the buyer what the book containes without furder inſinuation, this officious epithet ſo haſtily aſſuming the modeſty which others are to judge of by reading, not the author to anticipate to himſelf by foreſtalling, is a ſtrong preſumption that his modeſty ſet there to ſale in the frontiſpice, is not much addicted to bluſh. A ſurer ſigne of his loſt ſhame he could not have given, then ſeeking thus unſeaſonably to prepoſſeſſe men of his modeſty. And ſeeing he hath neither kept his word in the ſequel, nor omitted any kinde of boldneſſe in ſlandering, tis manifeſt his purpoſe was only to rub the forehead of his title with this word *modeſt*, that he might not want colour to be the more impudent throughout his whole confutation. Next what can equally ſavour of injuſtice, and plaine arrogance, as to prejudice and forecondemne his adverſary in the title for *ſlanderous and ſcurrilous*, and as the Remonſtrants faſhion is, for *frivolous, tedious, and falſe*, not ſtaying till the Reader can hear him prov'd ſo in the following diſcourſe; which is one cauſe of a ſuſpicion that in ſetting forth this pamplet the Remonſtrant was not unconſulted with; thus his firſt addreſſe was *an humble Remonſtrance by a dutifull ſon of the Church*, almoſt as if he had ſaid her white-boy. His next was *a defence* (a wonder how it ſcapt ſome praiſing adjunct) *againſt the frivolous and falſe exceptions of Smectymnus*, ſitting in the chaire of his Title page upon his poore caſt adverſaries both as a Judge and

Party, and that before the jury of Readers can be impannell'd. His laſt was *A ſhort anſwer to a tedious vindication;* ſo little can he ſuffer a man to meaſure either with his eye or judgement, what is ſhort or what tedious without his preoccupying direction: and from hence is begotten this *modeſt confutation againſt a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous libell.* I conceave, Readers, much may be gueſt at the man and his book, what depth there is, by the framing of his title, which being in this Remonſtrant ſo raſh, and unadviſed as ye ſee, I conceit him to be neere a kin to him who ſet forth a Paſſion Sermon with a formall Dedicatory in great letters to our Saviour. Although I know that all we do ought to begin and end to his praiſe and glory, yet to inſcribe him in a void place with flouriſhes, as a man in complement uſes to trick up the name of ſome Eſquire, Gentleman, or Lord Paramont at Common Law, to be his book-patron with the appendant form of a ceremonious preſentment, wil ever appeare among the judicious to be but an inſuls and frigid affectation. As no leſſe was that before his book againſt the Brownifts to write a Letter to a proſopopœa a certain rhetoriz'd woman whom he calls mother, and complains of ſome that laid whoredome to her charge; and certainly had he folded his Epiſtle with a ſuperſcription to be deliver'd to that female figure by any Poſt or Carrier who were not a Ubiquitary, it had beene a moſt miraculous greeting. We finde the Primitive Doctors as oft as they writ to Churches, ſpeaking to them as to a number of faithfull brethren and ſons, and not to make a cloudy tranſmigration of ſexes in ſuch a familiar way of writing as an Epiſtle ought to be, leaving the track of common adreſſe, to runne up, and tread the aire in metaphoricall compellations, and many fond utterances better let alone. But I ſtep againe to this emblazoner of his Title

page (whether it be the ſame man or no I leave it in the midſt) and here I finde him pronouncing without reprieve thoſe animadverſions to be *a ſlanderous and ſcurrilous libell.* To which I, Readers, that they are neither ſlanderous, nor ſcurrilous, will anſwer in what place of his book he ſhall be found with reaſon, and not inke only in his mouth. Nor can it be a libell more then his owne, which is both nameleſſe, and full of ſlanders, and if in this that it freely ſpeaks of things amiſſe in religion, but eſtabliſht by act of State, I ſee not how *Wickleffe* and *Luther*, with all the firſt Martyrs, and reformers, could avoid the imputation of libelling. I never thought the humane frailty of erring in caſes of religion infamy to a State, no more then to a Councell; it had therefore beene neither civill, nor Chriſtianly, to derogate the honour of the State for that cauſe, eſpecially when I ſaw the Parlament it ſelfe piouſly and magnanimouſly bent to ſupply and reforme the defects and overſights of their forefathers, which to the godly and repentant ages of the Jewes were often matter of humble confeſſing and bewailing, not of confident aſſerting and maintaining. Of the State therefore I found good reaſon to ſpeak all honourable things, and to joyne in petition with good men that petition'd: but againſt the Prelats who were the only ſeducers and miſ-leaders of the State to conſtitute the government of the Church not rightly, me thought I had not vehemence anough. And thus, Readers, by the example which hee hath ſet mee I have given yee two or three notes of him out of his Title page; by which his firſtlings feare not to gueſſe boldly at his whole lumpe, for that gueſſe will not faile ye; and although I tell him keen truth, yet he may beare with me, ſince I am like to chafe him into ſome good knowledge, and others, I truſt, ſhall not miſ-ſpend their leaſure. For this my aime is, if I am forc't to be

unpleaſing to him whoſe fault it is, I ſhall not forget at the ſame time to be uſefull in ſome thing to the ſtander by.

As therefore he began in the Title, ſo in the next leafe he makes it his firſt buſineſſe to tamper with his Reader by ſycophanting and miſnaming the worke of his adverſary. He calls it *a mime thruſt forth upon the ſtage to make up the breaches of thoſe ſolemne Scenes betweene the Prelats and the Smectymnuans*. Wherein while he is ſo overgreedy to fix a name of ill ſound upon another, note how ſtupid he is to expoſe himſelfe, or his own friends to the ſame ignominy; likening thoſe grave controverſies to a piece of Stagery, or Scene-worke where his owne Remonſtrant whether in Buſkin or Sock muſt of all right be counted the chiefe Player, be it boaſting *Thraſo*, or *Davus that troubles all things*, or one who can ſhift into any ſhape, I meddle not; let him explicate who hath reſembl'd the whole argument to a Comedy, for *Tragicall*, he ſayes, *were too ominous*. Nor yet doth he tell us what a Mime is, whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers except ſome fragments, which containe many acute and wiſe ſentences. And this we know in *Laertius*, that the Mimes of *Sophron* were of ſuch reckning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to read on and after make them his pillow. *Scaliger* deſcribes a Mime to be a Poem imitating any action to ſtirre up laughter. But this being neither Poem, nor yet ridiculous, how is it but abuſively taxt to be a Mime. For if every book which may by chance excite to laugh here and there, muſt be term'd thus, then may the Dialogues of *Plato*, who for thoſe his writings hath obtain'd the ſurname of Divine, be eſteem'd as they are by that detractor in *Athenæus*, no better then *Mimes*. Becauſe there is ſcarce one of them, eſpecially wherein ſome notable Sophiſter lies ſweating and turmoyling

under the inevitable, and mercileſſe dilemma's of *Socrates*, but that hee who reads, were it *Saturne* himſelfe, would be often rob'd of more then a ſmile. And whereas he tels us that *Scurrilous Mime was a perſonated grim lowring foole*, his fooliſh language unwittingly writes foole upon his owne friend, for he who was there *perſonated*, was only the *Remonſtrant*; the author is ever diſtinguiſht from the perſon he introduces. But in an ill houre hath his unfortunate raſhneſſe ſtumbl'd upon the mention of miming. That hee might at length ceaſe, which he hath not yet ſince he ſtept in, to gall and hurt him whom hee would aide. Could he not beware, could he not bethink him, was he ſo uncircumſpect, as not to foreſee, that no ſooner would that word *Mime* be ſet eye on in the paper, but it would bring to minde that wretched pilgrimage over *Minſhews* Dictionary call'd *Mundus alter et idem*, the idleſt and the paltrieſt Mime that ever mounted upon banke. Let him aſk *the Author of thoſe toothleſſe Satyrs* who was the maker, or rather the anticreator of that univerſall foolery, who he was, who like that other principle of the *Maniches* the *Arch evill one*, when he had look't upon all that he had made and mapt out, could ſay no other but contrary to the Divine Mouth, that it was all very fooliſh. That grave and noble invention which the greateſt and ſublimeſt wits in ſundry ages, *Plato in Critias*, and our two famous countreymen, the one in his *Utopia*, the other in his *new Atlantis* choſe, I may not ſay as a feild, but as a mighty Continent wherein to diſplay the largeneſſe of their ſpirits by teaching this our world better and exacter things, then were yet known, or us'd, this petty prevaricator of *America*, the zanie of *Columbus*, (for ſo he muſt be till his worlds end) having rambl'd over the huge topography of his own vain thoughts, no marvell, if he brought us home nothing but a meer

ankard drollery, a venereous parjetory for a ſtewes. Certainly he that could indure with a ſober pen to ſit and deviſe laws for drunkards to carouſe by, I doubt me whether the very ſoberneſſe of ſuch a one, like an unlicour'd *Silenus*, were not ſtark drunk. Let him go now and brand another man injuriouſly with the name of *Mime*, being himſelfe the looſeſt and moſt extravagant *Mime*, that hath been heard of; whom no leſſe then almoſt halfe the world could ſerve for ſtage roome to play the *Mime* in. And let him adviſe againe with Sir *Francis Bacon* whom he cites to confute others, what it is to *turn the ſinnes of Chriſtendome into a mimicall mockery, to rip up the ſaddeſt vices with a laughing countenance*, eſpecially where neither reproofe nor better teaching is adjoynd. Nor is my meaning, Readers, to ſhift off a blame from my ſelfe, by charging the like upon my accuſer, but ſhall only deſire, that ſentence may be reſpited, till I can come to ſome inſtance, whereto I may give anſwer.

Thus having ſpent his firſt onſet not in confuting, but in a reaſonleſſe defaming of the book, the method of his malice hurries him to attempt the like againſt the Author: not by proofes and teſtimonies, but *having no certaine notice of me*, as he profeſſes, *furder then what he gathers from the animadverſions*, blunders at me for the reſt, and flings out ſtray crimes at a venture, which he could never, though he be a Serpent, ſuck from any thing that I have written; but from his own ſtufft magazin, and hoard of ſlanderous inventions, over and above that which he converted to venome in the drawing. To me Readers, it happens as a ſingular contentment, and let it be to good men no ſlight ſatisfaction, that the ſlanderer here confeſſes, he has *no furder notice of mee then his owne conjecture*. Although it had been honeſt to have inquir'd, before he utter'd ſuch infamous words, and I

am credibly inform'd he did inquire, but finding ſmall comfort from the intelligence which he receav'd, whereon to ground the falſities which he had provided, thought it his likelieſt courſe under a pretended ignorance to let drive at randome, leſt he ſhould loſe his odde ends which from ſome penurious Book of Characters he had been culling out and would faine apply. Not caring to burden me with thoſe vices, whereof, among whom my converſation hath been, I have been ever leaſt ſuſpected; perhaps not without ſome ſuttlety to caſt me into envie, by bringing on me a neceſſity to enter into mine own praiſes. In which argument I know every wiſe man is more unwillingly drawne to ſpeak, then the moſt repining eare can be averſe to heare. Nevertheleſſe ſince I dare not wiſh to paſſe this life unperſecuted of ſlanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull, I ſhall relye on his promiſe to free the innocent from cauſeleſſe aſperſions: whereof nothing ſooner can aſſure me, then if I ſhall feele him now aſſiſting me in the juſt vindication of my ſelfe, which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to thoſe other matters of publick debatement in this book I ſhould give attendance firſt, but that I feare it would but harme the truth, for me to reaſon in her behalfe, ſo long as I ſhould ſuffer my honeſt eſtimation to lye unpurg'd from theſe inſolent ſuſpicions. And if I ſhall be large, or unwonted in juſtifying my ſelfe to thoſe who know me not, for elſe it would be needleſſe, let them conſider, that a ſhort ſlander will oft times reach farder then a long apology: and that he who will do juſtly to all men, muſt begin from knowing how, if it ſo happen, to be not unjuſt to himſelfe. I muſt be thought, if this libeller (for now he ſhewes himſelfe to be ſo) can finde beliefe, after an inordinat and riotous youth ſpent at *the Univerſity*, to have bin at

ength *vomited out thence.* For which commodious ye, that he may be incourag'd in the trade another ime, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occaſion to acknowledge publickly with all gratefull minde, that more then ordinary favour and reſpect which I found above any of my equals at the hands of thoſe curteous and learned men, the Fellowes of that Colledge wherein I ſpent ſome yeares: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, ſignifi'd many wayes, how much better it would content them that I would ſtay; as by many Letters full of kindneſſe and loving reſpect both before that time, and long after I was aſſur'd of their ingular good affection towards me. Which being likewiſe propenſe to all ſuch as were for their ſtudious and civill life worthy of eſteeme, I could not wrong their judgements, and upright intentions, ſo much as to think I had that regard from them for other cauſe then that I might be ſtill encourag'd to proceed in the honeſt and laudable courſes, of which they apprehended I had given good proofe. And to thoſe ingenuous and friendly men who were ever the countnancers of vertuous and hopefull wits, I wiſh the beſt, and happieſt things, that friends in abſence wiſh one to another. As for the common approbation or diſlike of that place, as now it is, that I ſhould eſteeme or diſeſteeme my ſelfe or any other the more for that, too ſimple and too credulous is the Confuter, if he thinke to obtaine with me, or any right diſcerner. Of ſmall practize were that Phyſitian who could not judge by what both ſhe or her ſiſter, hath of long time vomited, that the worſer ſtuffe ſhe ſtrongly keeps in her ſtomack, but the better ſhe is ever kecking at, and is queaſie. She vomits now out of ſickneſſe, but ere it be well with her, ſhe muſt vomit by ſtrong phyſick. In the meane while that *Suburb ſinke*, as this rude Scavinger

calls it, and more then ſcurriloufly taunts it with the *plague*, having a worſe plague, in his middle entraile, that ſuburb wherein I dwell, ſhall be in my account a more honourable place then his Univerſity. Which as in the time of her better health, and mine owne younger judgement I never greatly admir'd, ſo now much leſſe. But he followes me to the City, ſtill uſurping and forging beyond his book notice, which only he affirmes to have had: *and where my morning haunts are he wiſſes not*. Tis wonder, that being ſo rare an Alchymiſt of ſlander, he could not extract that, as well as the Univerſity vomit, and the Suburb ſinke which his art could diſtill ſo cunningly, but becauſe his Limbeck failes him, to give him and envie the more vexation, Ile tell him. Thoſe morning haunts are where they ſhould be, at home, not ſleeping, or concocting the ſurfets of an irregular feaſt, but up, and ſtirring, in winter often ere the ſound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in Summer as oft with the Bird that firſt rouſes, or not much tardier, to reade good Authors, or cauſe them to be read, till the attention bee weary, or memory have his full fraught. Then with uſefull and generous labours preſerving the bodies health, and hardineſſe; to render lightſome, cleare, and not lumpiſh obedience to the minde, to the cauſe of religion, and our Countries liberty, when it ſhall require firme hearts in ſound bodies to ſtand and cover their ſtations, rather then to ſee the ruine of our Proteſtation, and the inforcement of a ſlaviſh life. Theſe are the morning practiſes; proceed now to the afternoone; *in Playhouſes*, he ſayes, *and the Bordelloes*. Your intelligence, unfaithfull Spie of Canaan? he gives in his evidence, that *there he hath trac't me*. Take him at his word Readers, but let him bring good ſureties, ere ye diſmiſſe him, that while he pretended to dogge others, he did not turne in for his

ne pleasure; for so much in effect he concludes
ainst himselfe, not contented to be caught in every
ier gin, but he must be such a novice, as to be still
nper'd in his owne hempe. In the Animadver-
ns, saith he, I finde the mention of old clokes,
se beards, night-walkers, and salt lotion; therefore
: Animadverter haunts Playhouses and Bordelloes;
if hee did not, how could hee speake of such gear?
ow that he may know what it is to be a childe,
l yet to meddle with edg'd tooles, I turne his *An-
rephon* upon his owne head; the Confuter knowes
it these things are the furniture of Playhouses and
rdelloes, therefore by the same reason the *Confuter
nselfe hath beene trac't in those places.* Was it such
lissolute speech telling of some Politicians who
re wont to eavesdroppe in disguises, to say they
re often lyable to a night-walking cudgeller, or
: emptying of a Urinall? What if I had writ as
ur friend the author of the aforesaid *Mime, Mundus
er et idem,* to have bin ravisht like some young
phalus or *Hylas,* by a troope of camping Huswives
Viraginia, and that he was there forc't to sweare
nselfe an uxorious varlet, then after a long servi-
le to have come into *Aphrodisia* that pleasant Coun-
y that gave such a sweet smell to his nostrils among
: shamelesse Courtezans of *Desvergonia?* surely he
ould have then concluded me as constant at the
rdello, as the gally-slave at his Oare. But since
ere is such necessity to the hear-say of a Tire, a
riwig, or a Vizard, that Playes must have bin
ne, what difficulty was there in that? when in the
lleges so many of the young Divines, and those in
xt aptitude to Divinity have bin seene so oft upon
: Stage writhing and unboning their Clergie limmes
all the antick and dishonest gestures of Trinculo's,
affons, and Bawds; prostituting the shame of that
nistery which either they had, or were nigh hav-

ing, to the eyes of Courtiers and Court-Ladies, with their Groomes and *Madamoiſellaes*. There while they acted, and overacted, among other young ſcholars, I was a ſpectator; they thought themſelves gallant men, and I thought them fools, they made ſport, and I laught, they miſpronounc't and I miſlik't, and to make up the *atticiſme*, they were out, and I hiſt. Judge now whether ſo many good text men were not ſufficient to inſtruct me of falſe beards and vizards without more expoſitors; and how can this Confuter take the face to object to me the ſeeing of that which his reverent Prelats allow, and incite their young diſciples to act. For if it be unlawfull to ſit and behold a mercenary Comedian perſonating that which is leaſt unſeemely for a hireling to doe, how much more blamefull is it to indure the ſight of as vile things acted by perſons either enter'd, or preſently to enter into the miniſtery, and how much more foule and ignominious for them to be the actors.

But becauſe as well by this upraiding to me the Bordello's, as by other ſuſpicious glancings in his book he would ſeem privily to point me out to his Readers, as one whoſe cuſtome of life were not honeſt, but licentious; I ſhall intreat to be born with though I digreſſe; and in a way not often trod acquaint ye with the ſumme of my thoughts in this matter through the courſe of my yeares and ſtudies. Although I am not ignorant how hazardous it will be to do this under the noſe of the envious, as it were in ſkirmiſh to change the compact order, and inſtead of outward actions to bring inmoſt thoughts into front. And I muſt tell ye Readers, that by this ſort of men I have bin already bitten at; yet ſhall they not for me know how ſlightly they are eſteem'd, unleſſe they have ſo much learning as to reade what in Greek Απειροκαλία is, which together with envie is the common diſeaſe of thoſe who cenſure books that

ıre not for their reading. With me it fares now, ıs with him whoſe outward garment hath bin inur'd and ill bedighted; for having no other ſhift, what helpe but to turn the inſide outwards, eſpecially if the lining be of the ſame, or, as it is ſometimes, much better. So if my name and outward demeanour be not evident anough to defend me, I muſt make tryall, if the diſcovery of my inmoſt thoughts can. Wherein of two purpoſes both honeſt, and both ſincere, the one perhaps I ſhall not miſſe; although I faile to gaine beliefe with others of being ſuch as my perpetuall thoughts ſhall heere diſcloſe me, I may yet not faile of ſucceſſe in perſwading ſome, to be ſuch really themſelves, as they cannot believe me to be more then what I fain. I had my time Readers, as others have, who have good learning beſtow'd upon them, to be ſent to thoſe places, where the opinion was it might be ſooneſt attain'd: and as the manner is, was not unſtudied in thoſe authors which are moſt commended; whereof ſome were grave Orators and Hiſtorians; whoſe matter me thought I lov'd indeed, but as my age then was, ſo I underſtood them; others were the ſmooth Elegiack Poets, whereof the Schooles are not ſcarce. Whom both for the pleaſing ſound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found moſt eaſie; and moſt agreeable to natures part in me, and for their matter which what it is, there be few who know not, I was ſo allur'd to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome. For that it was then thoſe years with me which are excus'd though they be leaſt ſevere, I may be ſav'd the labour to remember ye. Whence having obſerv'd them to account it the chiefe glory of their wit, in that they were ableſt to judge, to praiſe, and by that could eſteeme themſelves worthieſt to love thoſe high perfections which under one or other name they took to celebrate, I

thought with my ſelfe by every inſtinct and preſage of nature which is not wont to be falſe, that what imboldn'd them to this taſk might with ſuch diligence as they us'd imbolden me, and that what judgement, wit, or elegance was my ſhare, would herein beſt appeare, and beſt value it ſelfe, by how much more wiſely, and with more love of vertue I ſhould chooſe (let rude eares be abſent) the object of not unlike praiſes. For albeit theſe thoughts to ſome will ſeeme vertuous and commendable, to others only pardonable, to a third ſort perhaps idle, yet the mentioning of them now will end in ſerious. Nor blame it Readers, in thoſe yeares to propoſe to themſelves ſuch a reward, as the nobleſt diſpoſitions above other things in this life have ſometimes preferr'd. Whereof not to be ſenſible, when good and faire in one perſon meet, argues both a groſſe and ſhallow judgement, and withall an ungentle, and ſwainiſh breſt. For by the firme ſetling of theſe perſwaſions I became, to my beſt memory, ſo much a proficient, that if I found thoſe authors any where ſpeaking unworthy things of themſelves; or unchaſte of thoſe names which before they had extoll'd, this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I ſtill applauded, but the men I deplor'd; and above them all preferr'd the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura* who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verſe, diſplaying ſublime and pure thoughts, without tranſgreſſion. And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd in this opinion, that he who would not be fruſtrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him ſelfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a compoſition, and patterne of the beſt and honourableſt things; not preſuming to ſing high praiſes of heroick men, or famous Cities, unleſſe he have in himſelfe the experience and the practice of all that which is praiſe

worthy. These reasonings, together with a certaine niceneſſe of nature, an honeſt haughtineſſe, and ſelf-eſteem either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envie call pride) and laſtly that modeſty, whereof though not in the Title page yet here I may be excus'd to make ſome beſeeming profeſſion, all theſe uniting the ſupply of their naturall aide together, kept me ſtill above thoſe low deſcents of minde, beneath which he muſt deject and plunge himſelf, that can agree to ſalable and unlawfull proſitutions. Next, (for heare me out now Readers) that I may tell ye whether my younger feet wander'd; I betook me among thoſe lofty Fables and Romances, which recount in ſolemne canto's the deeds of Knighthood founded by our victorious Kings; and from hence had in renowne over all Chriſtendome. There I read it in the oath of every Knight, that he ſhould defend to the expence of his beſt blood, or of his life, if it ſo befell him, the honour and chaſtity of Virgin or Matron. From whence even then I learnt what a noble vertue chaſtity ſure muſt be, to the defence of which ſo many worthies by ſuch a deare adventure of themſelves had ſworne. And if I found in the ſtory afterward any of them by word or deed breaking that oath, I judg'd it the ſame fault of the Poet, as that which is attributed to *Homer*; to have written undecent things of the gods. Only this my minde gave me that every free and gentle ſpirit without that oath ought to be borne a Knight, nor needed to expect the guilt ſpurre, or the laying of a ſword upon his ſhoulder to ſtirre him up both by his counſell, and his arme to ſecure and protect the weakneſſe of any attempted chaſtity. So that even thoſe books which to many others have been the fuell of wantonneſſe and looſe living, I cannot thinke how unleſſe by divine indulgence prov'd to me ſo many incitements as you have heard, to the

love and ſtedfaſt obſervation of that vertue which abhorres the ſociety of Bordello's. Thus from the Laureat fraternity of Poets, riper yeares, and the ceaſeleſſe round of ſtudy and reading led me to the ſhady ſpaces of philoſophy, but chiefly to the divine volumes of *Plato*, and his equall *Xenophon*. Where if I ſhould tell ye what I learnt, of chaſtity and love, I meane that which is truly ſo, whoſe charming cup is only vertue which ſhe bears in her hand to thoſe who are worthy. The reſt are cheated with a thick intoxicating potion which a certaine Sorcereſſe the abuſer of loves name carries about; and how the firſt and chiefeſt office of love, begins and ends in the ſoule, producing thoſe happy twins of her divine generation knowledge and vertue, with ſuch abſtracted ſublimities as theſe, it might be worth your liſtning, Readers, as I may one day hope to have ye in a ſtill time, when there ſhall be no chiding; not in theſe noiſes, the adverſary as ye know, barking at the doore; or ſearching for me at the Burdello's where it may be he has loſt himſelfe, and raps up without pitty the ſage and rheumatick old *Prelateſſe* with all her young *Corinthian Laity* to inquire for ſuch a one. Laſt of all not in time, but as perfection is laſt, that care was ever had of me, with my earlieſt capacity not to be negligently train'd in the precepts of Chriſtian Religion: This that I have hitherto related, hath bin to ſhew, that though Chriſtianity had bin but ſlightly taught me, yet a certain reſerv'dneſſe of naturall diſpoſition, and morall diſcipline learnt out of the nobleſt Philoſophy was anough to keep me in diſdain of farre leſſe incontinences then this of the Burdello. But having had the doctrine of holy Scripture unfolding thoſe chaſte and high myſteries with timelieſt care infus'd, that *the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body*, thus alſo I argu'd to my ſelfe; that if unchaſtity in a woman whom Saint

Paul termes the glory of man, be ſuch a ſcandall and diſhonour, then certainly in a man who is both the image and glory of God, it muſt, though commonly not ſo thought, be much more deflouring and diſhonourable. In that he ſins both againſt his owne body which is the perfeter ſex, and his own glory which is in the woman, and that which is worſt, againſt the image and glory of God which is in himſelfe. Nor did I ſlumber over that place expreſſing ſuch high rewards of ever accompanying the Lambe, with thoſe celeſtiall ſongs to others inapprehenſible, but not to thoſe who were not defil'd with women, which doubtleſſe meanes fornication: For mariage muſt not be call'd a defilement. Thus large I have purpoſely bin, that if I have bin juſtly taxt with this crime, it may come upon me after all this my confeſſion, with a tenne-fold ſhame. But if I have hitherto deſerv'd no ſuch opprobrious word, or ſuſpicion, I may hereby ingage my ſelfe now openly to the faithfull obſervation of what I have profeſt. I go on to ſhew you the unbridl'd impudence of this looſe rayler, who having once begun his race regards not how farre he flyes out beyond all truth and ſhame; who from the ſingle notice of the animadverſions, as he proteſts, will undertake to tell ye the very cloaths I weare, though he be much miſtaken in my wardrobe. And like a ſon of Belial without the hire of *Ieſabel* charges me *of blaſpheming God and the King*, as ordnarily as he imagines *me to drink Sack and ſweare*, meerely becauſe this was a ſhred in his common place-book, and ſeem'd to come off roundly, as if he were ſome Empirick of falſe accuſations to try his poyſons upon me whether they would work or no. Whom what ſhould I endeavour to refute more, whenas that book which is his only teſtimony returnes the lye upon him; not giving him the leaſt hint of the author to be either a ſwearer, or a Sack

drinker. And for the readers if they can believe me, principally for thoſe reaſons which I have alleg'd, to be of life and purpoſe neither diſhoneſt, nor unchaſte, they will be eaſily induc't to thinke me ſober both of wine, and of word; but if I have bin already ſucceſſeleſſe in perſwading them, all that I can furder ſay will be but vaine; and it will be better thrift to ſave two tedious labours, mine of excuſing, and theirs of needleſſe hearing.

Proceeding furder I am met with a whole ging of words and phraſes not mine, for he hath maim'd them, and like a ſlye depraver mangl'd them in this his wicked Limbo, worſe then the ghoſt of *Deiphobus* appear'd to his friend *Ænæas*. Here I ſcarce know them, and he that would, let him repaire to the place in that booke where I ſet them. For certainly this tormenter of ſemicolons is as good at diſmembring and ſlitting ſentences, as his grave Fathers the Prelates have bin at ſtigmatizing and ſlitting noſes. By ſuch handy craft as this what might he not traduce? Only that odour which being his own muſt needs offend his ſenſe of ſmelling, ſince he will needs beſtow his foot among us, and not allow us to think he weares a Sock, I ſhall endeavour it may be offenceleſſe to other mens eares. The Remonſtrant having to do with grave and reverend men his adverſaries, thought it became him to tell them in ſcorne, that *the Biſhops foot had beene in their book and confuted it*, which when I ſaw him arrogate, to have done that with his heeles that ſurpaſt the beſt conſideration of his head, to ſpurn a confutation among reſpected men, I queſtion'd not the lawfulneſſe of moving his jollity to bethink him, what odor a Sock would have in ſuch a painfull buſineſſe. And this may have chanc't to touch him more neerly then I was aware; for indeed a Biſhops foot that hath all his toes maugre the gout, and a lin-

n Sock over it, is the apteſt embleme of the Prelate mſelfe. Who being a pluraliſt, may under one ırplice which is alſo linnen, hide foure benefices ſides the metropolitan toe, and ſends a fouler ſtench heaven, then that which this young queaſineſſe ches at. And this is the immediate reaſon here hy our inrag'd Confuter, that he may be as per- t an hypocrite as *Caiaphas*, ere he be a High ieſt, cries out, *horrid blaſphemy!* and like a re- ɜant Jew calls for *ſtones*. I beſeech ye friends, ere e brick-bats flye, reſolve me and your ſelves, is it ıſphemy, or any whit diſagreeing from Chriſtian ɜekneſſe, when as Chriſt himſelfe ſpeaking of un- ɾory traditions, ſcruples not to name the Dunghill d the Jakes, for me to anſwer a ſlovenly wincer a confutation, that, if he would needs put his foot ſuch a ſweaty ſervice, the odour of his Sock was ɜe to be neither muſk, nor benjamin? Thus did at fooliſh Monk in a barbarous Declamation accuſe *ɜtrarch* of blaſphemy for diſpraiſing the French nes. But this which followes is plaine bedlam ıffe, this is the *Demoniack legion* indeed, which the ɜmonſtrant feard had been againſt him, and now may ſee is for him. *You that love Chriſt*, ſaith he, *d know this miſcreant wretch, ſtone him to death, leſt u ſmart for his impunity*. What thinks the Remon- ant? does he like that ſuch words as theſe ſhould me out of his ſhop, out of his Trojan horſe? to ve the watch word like *a Guiſian of Paris* to a utiny or maſſacre; to proclame a *Cruſada* againſt s fellow Chriſtian now in this troublous and di- ded time of the Kingdome? if he do, I ſhall ſay at to be the Remonſtrant is no better then to be a ſuit. And that if he and his accomplices could do the rebels have done in *Ireland* to the Proteſtants, ey would do in *England* the ſame to them that ɔuld no Prelats. For a more ſeditious and Butch-

erly Speech no Cell of *Loyola* could have belch't againſt one who in all his writing ſpake not, that any mans ſkin ſhould be rais'd. And yet this curſing *Shimei* a hurler of ſtones, as well as a rayler, wants not the face inſtantly to make as though he *deſpair'd of victory unleſſe a modeſt defence would get it him*. Did I erre at all, Readers, to foretell ye, when firſt I met with his title, that the epithet of modeſt there, was a certaine red portending ſigne, that he meant ere long to be moſt tempeſtuouſly bold, and ſhameleſſe? Nevertheleſſe *he dares not ſay but there may be hid in his nature as much venemous Atheiſme and profanation*, as he thinks, *hath broke out at his adverſaries lips, but he hath not the ſoare running upon him*, as he would intimate *I have*. Now truſt me not, Readers, if I be not already weary of pluming and footing this Seagull, ſo open he lies to ſtrokes; and never offers at another, but brings home the dorre upon himſelfe. For if the ſore be running upon me, in all judgement I have ſcapt the diſeaſe, but he who hath as much infection hid in him, as he hath voluntarily confeſt, and cannot expell it, becauſe hee is dull, for venomous Atheiſme were no treaſure to be kept within him elſe, let him take the part hee hath choſen, which muſt needs follow, to ſwell and burſt with his owne inward venome.

Sect. 1.] But marke, Readers, there is a kind of juſtice obſerv'd among them that do evill, but this man loves injuſtice in the very order of his malice. For having all this while abus'd the good name of his adverſary with all manner of licence in revenge of his Remonſtrant, if they be not both one perſon, or as I am told, Father and Son, yet after all this he calls for ſatisfaction, when as he himſelfe hath already taken the utmoſt farding. *Violence hath been done*, ſayes he, *to the perſon of a holy, and religious Prelat*. To which, ſomething in effect to what S. *Paul* an-

ſwer'd of *Ananias*, I anſwer, *I wiſt not brethren that he was a holy and religious* Prelat; for evill is written of thoſe who would be Prelats. And finding him thus in diſguiſe without his ſuperſcription or *Phylactery* either of *holy* or *Prelat*, it were no ſinne to ſerve him as *Longchamp* Biſhop of *Elie* was ſerv'd in his diſguiſe at *Dover:* He hath begun the meaſure nameleſſe, and when he pleaſes we may all appeare as we are. And let him be then what he will, he ſhall be to me ſo as I finde him principl'd. For neither muſt Prelat or Arch-Prelat hope to exempt himſelfe from being reckon'd as one of the vulgar; which is for him only to hope whom true wiſdome and the contempt of vulgar opinions exempts, it being taught us in the Pſalmes that he who is in honour and underſtandeth not is as the beaſts that periſh. And now firſt *the manner of handling that cauſe* which I undertook, he thinks *is ſuſpicious*, as if the wiſeſt, and the beſt words were not ever to ſome or other ſuſpicious. But where is the offence, the diſagreement from Chriſtian meekneſſe, or the precept of *Solomon* in anſwering folly? when the Remonſtrant talks of *froth and ſcum*, I tell him there is none, and bid him *ſpare his Ladle:* when he brings in the meſſe with *Keale, Beef, and Breweſſe*, what ſtomack in *England* could forbeare to call for flanks and briſkets? Capon and whitebroth having beene likely ſometimes in the ſame roome with Chriſt and his Apoſtles, why does it trouble him that it ſhould be now *in the ſame leaſe*, eſpecially, where the diſcourſe is not continu'd but interrupt? And let him tell me, is he wont to ſay grace, doth he not then name holieſt names over the ſteame of coſtlieſt ſuperfluities? Does he judge it fooliſh or diſhoneſt to write that among religious things, which when he talks of religious things he can devoutly chew? is he afraid to name Chriſt where thoſe things are

written in the ſame leafe whom he fears not to name while the ſame things are in his mouth? Doth not Chriſt himſelfe teach the higheſt things by the ſimilitude *of old bottles and patcht cloaths?* Doth he not illuſtrate beſt things by things moſt evill? his own *comming* to be *as a thiefe in the night*, and the righteous mans *wiſdome to that of an unjuſt Steward?* He might therefore have done better to have kept in *his canting beggars and heathen Altar* to ſacrifice his thredbare criticiſme of *Bomolochus* to an unſeaſonable Goddeſſe fit for him call'd Importunity, and have reſerv'd his Greek derivation till he lecture to his freſh men, for here his itching pedantry is but flouted.

But to the end that nothing may be omitted which may furder ſatisfie any conſcionable man, who notwithſtanding what I could explaine before the animadverſions, remains yet unſatisfi'd concerning that way of writing which I there defended, but this confuter whom it pinches, utterly diſapproves, I ſhall aſſay once againe, and perhaps with more ſucceſſe. If therefore the queſtion were in oratory, whether a vehement vein throwing out indignation, or ſcorn upon an object that merits it, were among the apteſt *Ideas* of ſpeech to be allow'd, it were my work, and that an eaſie one to make it cleare both by the rules of beſt rhetoricians, and the famouſeſt examples of the Greek and Roman Orations. But ſince the Religion of it is diſputed, and not the art, I ſhall make uſe only of ſuch reaſons and autorities, as religion cannot except againſt. It will be harder to gainſay, then for me to evince that in the teaching of men diverſly temper'd different wayes are to be try'd. The Baptiſt we know was a ſtrict man remarkable for auſterity and ſet order of life. Our Saviour who had all gifts in him was Lord to expreſſe his indoctrinating power in what ſort him beſt ſeem'd; ſometimes by a milde and familiar converſe,

ſometimes with plaine and impartiall home-ſpeaking regardleſſe of thoſe whom the auditors might think he ſhould have had in more reſpect; otherwhiles with bitter and irefull rebukes if not teaching yet leaving excuſeleſſe thoſe his wilfull impugners. What was all in him, was divided among many others the teachers of his Church; ſome to be ſevere and ever of a ſad gravity that they may win ſuch, and check ſometimes thoſe who be of nature over-confident and jocond; others were ſent more cheerefull, free, and ſtill as it were at large, in the midſt of an untreſpaſſing honeſty; that they who are ſo temper'd may have by whom they might be drawne to ſalvation, and they who are too ſcrupulous, and dejected of ſpirit might be often ſtrengthn'd with wiſe conſolations and revivings: no man being forc't wholly to diſſolve that groundwork of nature which God created in him, the ſanguine to empty out all his ſociable livelineſſe, the cholerick to expell quite the unſinning predominance of his anger; but that each radicall humour and paſſion wrought upon and corrected as it ought, might be made the proper mould and foundation of every mans peculiar guifts, and vertues. Some alſo were indu'd with a ſtaid moderation, and ſoundneſſe of argument to teach and convince the rationall and ſober-minded; yet not therefore that to be thought the only expedient courſe of teaching, for in times of oppoſition when either againſt new hereſies ariſing, or old corruptions to be reform'd this coole unpaſſionate mildneſſe of poſitive wiſdome is not anough to damp and aſtoniſh the proud reſiſtance of carnall, and falſe Doctors, then (that I may have leave to ſoare a while as the Poets uſe) then Zeale whoſe ſubſtance is ethereal, arming in compleat diamond aſcends his fiery Chariot drawn with two blazing Meteors figur'd like beaſts, but of a higher breed then any the Zodiack yeilds, reſem-

bling two of thoſe four which *Ezechiel* and S. *John* ſaw, the one viſag'd like a Lion to expreſſe power, high autority and indignation, the other of count'nance like a man to caſt deriſion and ſcorne upon perverſe and fraudulent ſeducers; with theſe the invincible warriour Zeale ſhaking looſely the ſlack reins drives over the heads of Scarlet Prelats, and ſuch as are inſolent to maintaine traditions, bruſing their ſtiffe necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true Prophets of old combat with the falſe; thus Chriſt himſelfe the fountaine of meekneſſe found acrimony anough to be ſtill galling and vexing the Prelaticall Phariſees. But ye will ſay theſe had immediat warrant from God to be thus bitter, and I ſay, ſo much the plainlier is it prov'd, that there may be a ſanctifi'd bitterneſſe againſt the enemies of truth. Yet that ye may not think inſpiration only the warrant thereof, but that it is as any other vertue, of morall and generall obſervation, the example of *Luther* may ſtand for all: whom God made choice of before others to be of higheſt eminence and power in reforming the Church; who not of revelation, but of judgement writ ſo vehemently againſt the chiefe defenders of old untruths in the Romiſh Church, that his own friends and favourers were many times offended with the fierceneſſe of his ſpirit; yet he being cited before *Charles* the fifth to anſwer for his books, and having divided them into three ſorts, whereof one was of thoſe which he had ſharply written, refus'd though upon deliberation giv'n him to retract or unſay any word therein; as we may reade in *Sleiden*. Yea he defends his eagerneſſe, as being *of an ardent ſpirit, and one who could not write a dull ſtile;* and affirm'd *hee thought it Gods will to have the inventions of men thus laid open, ſeeing that matters quietly handled, were quickly forgot*. And herewithall how uſefull and available God had made

this tart rhetorick in the Churches cauſe, he often found by his owne experience. For when he betook himſelfe to lenity and moderation, as they call it, he reapt nothing but contempt both from *Cajetan* and *Eraſmus*, from *Cocleus*, from *Ecchius* and others, inſomuch that blaming his friends who had ſo counſel'd him, he reſolv'd never to runne into the like error; if at other times he ſeeme to excuſe his vehemence, as more then what was meet, I have not examin'd through his works to know how farre he gave way to his owne fervent minde; it ſhall ſuffice me to looke to mine own. And this I ſhall eaſily averre though it may ſeeme a hard ſaying, that the Spirit of God who is purity it ſelfe, when he would reprove any fault ſeverely, or but relate things done or ſaid with indignation by others, abſtains not from ſome words not civill at other times to be ſpok'n. Omitting that place in Numbers at the killing of *Zimri and Coſbi* done by *Phineas* in the heigth of zeal, related as the Rabbines expound, not without an obſcene word, we may finde in Deuteronomy and three of the Prophets, where God denouncing bitterly the puniſhments of Idolaters, tels them in a terme immodeſt to be utter'd in coole blood, that their wives ſhall be defil'd openly. But theſe, they will ſay were honeſt words in that age when they were ſpok'n. Which is more then any Rabbin can prove, and certainly had God been ſo minded, he could have pickt ſuch words, as ſhould never have come into abuſe. What will they ſay to this. *David* going againſt *Nabal*, in the very ſame breath when he had but juſt before nam'd the *name of God*, he vowes not *to leave any alive of Nabals houſe that piſſeth againſt the wall.* But this was unadviſedly ſpoke, you will anſwer, and ſet downe to aggravate his infirmity. Turne then to the firſt of Kings where God himſelfe uſes the phraſe; *I will cut off from*

Ieroboam him that pisseth against the wall. Which had it beene an unseemely speech in the heat of an earnest expression, then we must conclude that *Ionathan, or Onkelos the Targumists* were of cleaner language then he that made the tongue; for they render it as briefly, *I will cut off all who are at yeares of discretion,* that is to say so much discretion as to hide nakednesse. Whereas God who is the author both of purity and eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plaine word might have easily bin forborne. Which the *Masoreths* and Rabbinicall *Scholiasts* not well attending, have often us'd to blurre the margent with *Keri,* instead of *Ketiv,* and gave us this insuls rule out of their *Talmud, That all words which in the Law are writ obscenely, must be chang'd to more civill words.* Fools who would teach men to read more decently then God thought good to write. And thus I take it to be manifest, that indignation against men and their actions notoriously bad, hath leave and autority oft times to utter such words and phrases as in common talke were not so mannerly to use. That ye may know, not only as the Historian speaks, *that all those things for which men plough, build, or saile, obey vertue,* but that all words and whatsoever may be spoken shall at some time in an unwonted manner wait upon her purposes.

Now that the confutant may also know as he desires, what force of teaching there is sometimes in laughter, I shall returne him in short, that laughter being one way of answering *A Foole according to his folly,* teaches two sorts of persons, first the Foole himselfe *not to be wise in his own conceit;* as *Salomon* affirms, which is certainely a great document, to make an unwise man know himselfe. Next, it teaches the hearers, in as much as scorne is one of

thoſe puniſhments which belong to men carnally wiſe, which is oft in Scripture declar'd; for when ſuch are puniſht *the ſimple are thereby made wiſe*, if *Salomons* rule be true. And I would aſk, to what end *Eliah* mockt the falſe Prophets? was it to ſhew his wit, or to fulfill his humour? doubtleſſe we cannot imagine that great ſervant of God had any other end in all which he there did, but to teach and inſtruct the poore miſledde people. And we may frequently reade, that many of the Martyrs in the midſt of their troubles, were not ſparing to deride and ſcoffe their ſuperſtitious perſecutors. Now may the confutant adviſe againe with Sir *Francis Bacon* whether *Eliah* and the Martyrs did well to turne religion into a Comedy, or Satir; *to rip up the wounds* of Idolatry and Superſtition *with a laughing countenance*. So that for pious gravity his author here is matcht and overmatcht, and for wit and morality in one that followes.

——laughing to teach the truth
What hinders? as ſome teachers give to Boyes
Junkets and knacks, that they may learne apace.

Thus *Flaccus* in his firſt Satir, and in his tenth

——Jeſting decides great things
Stronglier, and better oft then earneſt can.

I could urge the ſame out of *Cicero*, and *Seneca*, but he may content him with this. And hence forward, if he can learn, may know as well what are the bounds, and objects of laughter and vehement reproofe, as he hath knowne hitherto how to deſerve them both. But leſt ſome may haply think, or thus expoſtulat with me after all this debatement, who made you the buſie Almoner to deale about this dole of laughter and reprehenſion which no man thanks your bounty for? To the urbanity of that man I ſhold anſwer much after this ſort? That

I, friend objecter, having read of heathen Philoſophers, ſome to have taught, that whoſoever would but uſe his eare to liſten, might heare the voice of his guiding *Genius* ever before him, calling and as it were pointing to that way which is his part to follow; others, as the Stoicks, to account reaſon, which they call the *Hegemonicon*, to be the common *Mercury* conducting without error thoſe that give themſelves obediently to be led accordingly, having read this, I could not eſteeme ſo poorly of the faith which I profeſſe, that God had left nothing to thoſe who had forſaken all other doctrines for his, to be an inward witneſſe, and warrant of what they have to do, as that they ſhould need to meaſure themſelves by other mens meaſures how to give ſcope, or limit to their proper actions; for that were to make us the moſt at a ſtand, the moſt uncertaine and accidentall wanderers in our doings, of all religions in the world. So that the queſtion ere while mov'd who he is that ſpends thus the benevolence of laughter and reproofe ſo liberally upon ſuch men as the Prelats, may returne with a more juſt demand, who he is not of place and knowledge never ſo mean, under whoſe contempt and jerk theſe men are not deſervedly falne? neither can religion receive any wound by diſgrace thrown upon the Prelats, ſince religion and they ſurely were never in ſuch amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their ſtripes muſt heale her. I might alſo tell them, what *Electra* in *Sophocles*, a wiſe Virgin anſwer'd her wicked Mother who thought her ſelfe too violently reprov'd by her the daughter.

'Tis you that ſay it, not I, you do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds finde me the words.

If therefore the Remonſtrant complaine of libels, it is becauſe he feels them to be right aim'd. For

aſk againe as before in the animadverſions, how ong is it ſince he hath diſ-reliſht libels? we never ıeard the leaſt mutter of his voice againſt them while they flew abroad without controul or check lefaming the Scots and Puritans. And yet he can emember of none but *Lyſimachus Nicanor*, and *that he miſlikt and cenſur'd.* No more but of one can the Remonſtrant remember? What if I put him in minde of one more? What if of one more whereof the Remonſtrant in many likelyhoods may be thought the author? Did he never ſee a Pamphlet intitl'd after his own faſhion, *A ſurvey of that fooliſh, ſeditious, ſcandalous, profane libell the Proteſtation proteſted?* The child doth not more expreſly refigure the viſage of his Father, then that book reſembles the ſtile of the Remonſtrant, in thoſe idioms of ſpeech, wherein he ſeemes moſt to delight: and in the ſeventeenth Page three lines together taken out of the Remonſtrance word for word, not as a citation, but as an author borrowes from himſelfe. Who ever it be, he may as juſtly be ſaid to have libell'd, as he againſt whom he writes: there ye ſhall finde another man then here is made ſhew of, there he bites as faſt as this whines. *Vinegar in the inke* is there *the antidote of Vipers. Laughing* in a religious controverſie is there *a thrifty phyſick to expell his melancholy.* In the meane time the teſtimony of Sir *Francis Bacon* was not miſalledg'd, complaining that libels on the Biſhops part were utter'd openly; and if he hop't the Prelats *had no intelligence with the libellours,* he delivers it but as his favourable opinion. But had he contradicted himſelfe, how could I aſſoil him here, more then a little before, where I know not how by entangling himſelfe, he leaves an aſperſion upon *Iob,* which by any elſe I never heard laid to his charge. For having affirm'd that *there is no greater confuſion then the confounding of jeſt and earneſt,* pre-

ſently he brings the example of *Iob glancing at conceits of mirth, when he ſate among the people with the gravity of a Judge upon him.* If jeſt and earneſt be ſuch a confuſion, then were the people much wiſer then *Job*, for *he ſmil'd, and they believ'd him not.* To defend Libels, which is that whereof I am next accus'd, was farre from my purpoſe. I had not ſo little ſhare in good name, as to give another that advantage againſt my ſelfe. The ſumme of what I ſaid, was that a more free permiſſion of writing at ſome times might be profitable, in ſuch a queſtion eſpecially wherein the Magiſtrates are not fully reſolv'd; and both ſides have equall liberty to write, as now they have. Not as when the Prelats bore ſway, in whoſe time the bookes of ſome men were confuted, when they who ſhould have anſwer'd were in cloſe priſon, deny'd the uſe of pen or paper. And the *Divine right of Epiſcopacy* was then valiantly aſſerted, when he who would have bin reſpondent, muſt have bethought himſelfe withall how he could refute the *Clink*, or the *Gate-houſe*. If now therefore they be perſu'd with bad words, who perſecuted others with bad deeds, it is a way to leſſen tumult rather then to encreaſe it; when as anger thus freely vented ſpends it ſelfe, ere it break out into action, though *Machiavell* whom he cites, or any *Machiavillian* Prieſt think the contrary.

Sect. 3.] Now Readers I bring ye to his third Section; wherein very cautiouſly, and no more then needs, leſt I ſhould take him for ſome Chaplaine at hand, ſome Squire of the body to his Prelat, one that ſerves not at the Altar only, but at the Court cup board, he will beſtow on us a pretty modell of himſelfe; and ſobs me out halfe a dozen tizicall mottoes where ever he had them, hopping ſhort in the meaſure of convulſion fits; in which labour the agony of his wit, having ſcapt narrowly, inſtead of well

iz'd periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumping posies. *He has a fortune therefore good, because he is content with it.* This is a piece of sapience not worth the brain of a fruit-trencher; as if content were the measure of what is good or bad in the guift of fortune. For by this rule a bad man may have a good fortune, because he may be oft times content with it for many reasons which have no affinity with vertue, as love of ease, want of spirit to use more, and the like. *And therefore content,* he sayes, *because it neither goes before, nor comes behinde his merit.* Belike then if his fortune should go before his merit, he would not be content, but resigne, if we believe him, which I do the lesse, because he implyes that if it came behinde his merit, he would be content as little. Wheras if a wise mans content should depend upon such a *Therefore,* because his fortune came not behinde his merit, how many wise men could have content in this world? In his next pithy symbol I dare not board him, for he passes all *the seven wise Masters of Greece,* attributing to himselfe that which on my life *Salomon* durst not; *to have affections so equally temper'd that they neither too hastily adhere to the truth, before it be fully examin'd, nor too lazily afterward.* Which unlesse he only were exempted out of the corrupt masse of *Adam,* borne without sinne originall, and living without actuall, is impossible. Had *Salomon* (for it behoves me to instance in the wisest, dealing with such a transcendent Sage as this) had *Salomon* affections so equally temper'd, as *not adhering too lazily to the truth,* when God warn'd him of his halting in idolatry? do we reade that he repented hastily? did not his affections lead him hastily from an examin'd truth, how much more would they lead him slowly to it? Yet this man beyond a *Stoick apathy* sees truth as in a rapture, and cleaves to it. Not as through the dim

glaſſe of his affections which in this frail manſion of fleſh are ever unequally temper'd, puſhing forward to error, and keeping back from truth oft times the beſt of men. But how farre this boaſter is from knowing himſelfe, let his *Preface* ſpeake. Something I thought it was that made him ſo quick-ſighted to gather ſuch ſtrange things out of the Animadverſions, whereof the leaſt conception could not be drawne from thence, of *Suburb ſinks*, ſometimes *out of wit and cloaths*, ſometimes *in new Serge, drinking Sack, and ſwearing*, now I know it was this equall temper of his affections that gave him to ſee clearer then any fenell rub'd Serpent. Laſtly, he has reſolv'd *that neither perſon nor cauſe ſhall improper him*. I may miſtake his meaning, for the word ye heare is *improper*. But whether if not a perſon, yet a good Perſonage, or Impropriation bought out for him would not *improper* him, becauſe there may be a quirk in the word, I leave it for a Canoniſt to reſolve.

Sect. 4.] And thus ends this Section, or rather diſſection of himſelfe, ſhort ye will ſay both in breath, and extent, as in our own praiſes it ought to be, unleſſe wherein a good name hath bin wrongfully attainted. Right, but if ye looke at what he aſcribes to himſelfe, *that temper of his affections* which cannot any where be but in Paradiſe, all the judicious *Panegyricks* in any language extant are not halfe ſo prolixe. And that well appears in his next removall. For what with putting his fancy to the tiptoe in this deſcription of himſelfe, and what with adventuring preſently to ſtand upon his own legs without the crutches of his margent, which is the ſluce moſt commonly, that feeds the drouth of his text, he comes ſo lazily on in a Similie, with his *arme full of weeds*, and demeanes himſelfe in the dull expreſſion ſo like a dough kneaded thing, that he has not ſpirit

nough left him ſo farre to look to his *Syntaxis*, as o avoide nonſenſe. For it muſt be underſtood there hat *the ſtranger*, and not *he who brings the bundle* vould be *deceav'd in cenſuring the field*, which this iip-ſhot *Grammarian* cannot ſet into right frame of :onſtruction, neither here in the ſimilitude, nor in he following *reddition* thereof, which being to this ›urpoſe, that *the faults of the beſt pickt out, and pre-ſented in groſs, ſeem monſtrous, this* ſaith he, *you have lone, in pinning on his ſleeve the faults of others*; as if :o pick out his owne faults, and to pin the faults of ›thers upon him, were to do the ſame thing. To inſwer therefore how I have cull'd out the evill ıctions of the Remonſtrant from his vertues, I am ıcquitted by the dexterity and conveiance of his non-ſenſe, looſing that for which he brought his parable. But what of other mens faults I have pinn'd upon his ſleeve, let him ſhew. For whether he were the man who term'd the Martyrs *Foxian* confeſſors, it matters not; he that ſhall ſtep up before others to defend a Church-government, which wants almoſt no circumſtance, but only a name to be a plaine Popedome, a government which changes the fatherly and everteaching diſcipline of Chriſt into that Lordly and uninſtructing juriſdiction which properly makes the Pope Antichriſt, makes himſelfe an acceſſory to all the evill committed by thoſe, who are arm'd to do miſchiefe by that undue government; which they by their wicked deeds, do with a kinde of paſſive and unwitting obedience to God, deſtroy. But he by plauſible words and traditions againſt the Scripture obſtinately ſeeks to maintaine. They by their owne wickedneſſe ruining their owne, unjuſt autority make roome for good to ſucceed. But he by a ſhew of good upholding the evill which in them undoes it ſelfe, hinders the good which they by accident let in. Their manifeſt crimes ſerve to bring forth an

enſuing good and haſten a remedy againſt themſelves, and his ſeeming good tends to reinforce their ſelfe-puniſhing crimes and his owne, by doing his beſt to delay all redreſſe. Shall not all the miſchiefe which other men do, be layd to his charge, if they doe it by that unchurchlike power which he defends? Chriſt ſaith, *he that is not with me is againſt me, and he that gathers not with me ſcatters.* In what degree of enmity to Chriſt ſhall wee place that man then, who ſo is with him, as that it makes more againſt him, and ſo gathers with him, that it ſcatters more from him? ſhall it availe that man to ſay he honours the Martyrs memory and treads in their ſteps? No; the Phariſees confeſt as much of the holy Prophets. Let him and ſuch as he when they are in their beſt actions even at their prayers looke to heare that which the Phariſees heard from *Iohn* the *Baptiſt* when they leaſt expected, when they rather lookt for praiſe from him. *Generation of Vipers who hath warn'd ye to flee from the wrath to come?* Now that ye have ſtarted back from the purity of Scripture which is the only rule of reformation, to the old vomit of your traditions, now that ye have either troubl'd or leven'd the people of God, and the doctrine of the Goſpell with ſcandalous ceremonies and maſſe-borrow'd Liturgies, doe ye turne the uſe of that truth which ye profeſſe, to countenance that falſhood which ye gaine by? We alſo reverence the Martyrs but relye only upon the Scriptures. And why we ought not to relye upon the Martyrs I ſhall be content with ſuch reaſons as my confuter himſelfe affords me; who is I muſt needs ſay for him in that point as officious an adverſary as I would wiſh to any man. For *firſt*, ſaith he, *there may be a Martyr in a wrong cauſe, and as courageous in ſuffering as the beſt: ſometimes in a good cauſe with a forward ambition diſpleaſing to God.*

Otherwhiles they that story of them out of blind zeale, or malice may write many things of them untruly. If this be so, as ye heare his own confession, with what safety can the Remonstrant rely upon the Martyrs as *Patrons of his cause*, when as any of those who are alleg'd for the approvers of our Liturgy or Prelaty might have bin though not in a wrong cause Martyrs, yet whether not vainly ambitious of that honour, or whether not misreported, or misunderstood, in those their opinions God only knowes. The testimony of what we believe in religion must be such as the conscience may rest on to be infallible, and incorruptible, which is only the word of God.

Sect. 5.] His fifth Section finds it selfe agriev'd that the Remonstrant should be taxt with the illegall proceedings of the high Commission, and oath *Ex officio*; And first *whether they were illegall or no, tis more then he knowes.* See this malevolent Fox? that tyranny which the whole Kingdome cry'd out against as stung with Adders, and Scorpions, that tyranny which the Parlament in compassion of the Church and Commonwealth hath dissolv'd, and fetch't up by the roots, for which it hath receav'd the publick thanks and blessings of thousands this obscure thorn-eater of malice and detraction, as well as of *Quodlibets* and *Sophisms* knowes not whether it were illegall or not. Evill, evill, would be your reward ye worthies of the Parlament, if this Sophister and his accomplices had the censuring, or the sounding forth of your labours. And that the Remonstrant cannot wash his hands of all the cruelties exercis'd by the Prelats, is past doubting. They scourg'd the confessors of the Gospell, and he held the scourgers garments. They executed their rage, and he, if he did nothing else, defended the government with the oath that did it, and the ceremonies which were the cause of it: does he think to be counted guiltlesse?

Sect. 6.] In the following Section I muſt foretell ye, Readers, the doings will be rough and dangerous, the bating of a *Satir*. And if the work ſeeme more triviall or boiſtrous then for this diſcourſe, let the Remonſtrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word paſſe, but he muſt make all this blaze of it. I had ſaid that becauſe the Remonſtrant was ſo much offended with thoſe who were tart againſt the Prelats, ſure he lov'd toothleſſe Satirs, which I took were as improper as a toothed Sleekſtone. This Champion from behind the Arras cries out that thoſe toothleſſe Satyrs were of the Remonſtrants making; and armes himſelfe here tooth and naile and *horne* to boot, to ſupply the want of teeth, or rather of gumms in the Satirs. And for an onſet tels me that the ſimily of a Sleekſtone *ſhewes I can be as bold with a Prelat as familiar with a Laundreſſe*. But does it not argue rather the laſcivious promptneſſe of his own fancy, who from the harmeleſſe mention of a Sleekſtone could neigh out the remembrance of his old converſation among the *Viraginian* trollops? For me, if he move me, I ſhall claime his owne oath, the oath *Ex officio* againſt any Prieſt or Prelat in the kingdome to have ever as much hated ſuch pranks as the beſt and chaſteſt of them all. That exception which I made againſt toothleſſe Satirs the Confuter hopes I had from the *Satiriſt*, but is farre deceav'd: neither had I ever read the hobbling *diſtick* which he means. For this good hap I had from a carefull education to be inur'd and ſeaſon'd betimes with the beſt and eleganteſt authors of the learned tongues, and thereto brought an eare that could meaſure a juſt cadence, and ſcan without articulating; rather nice and humorous in what was tolerable, then patient to read every drawling verſifier. Whence lighting upon this title of *toothleſſe Satirs*, I will not conceale ye

hat I thought, Readers, that ſure this muſt be ſome cking Satir, who might have done better to have 'd his corall, and made an end of breeding, ere he ok upon him to weild a Satirs whip. But when I ard him talk of *ſcouring the ruſted ſwords of elviſh nights*, doe not blame me, if I chang'd my thought, d concluded him ſome deſperate Cutler. But why *s ſcornefull muſe could never abide with tragick ſhoos r ankles for to hide*, the pace of the verſe told me at her maukin knuckles were never ſhapen to that yall buſkin. And turning by chance to the ſixth tyr of his Second book I was confirm'd; where ving begun loftily *in heavens univerſall Alphabet* he ls downe to that wretched pooreneſſe and frigidity to talke of *Bridge ſtreet in heav'n, and the Oſtler heav'n*, and there wanting other matter to catch m a heat, (for certaine he was in the frozen *Zone* iſerably benumm'd) with thoughts lower then any adle betakes him to whip the ſigne poſts of *Camidge* Alehouſes, the ordinary ſubject of freſhmens les, and in a ſtraine as pittifull. Which for him ho would be counted *the firſt Engliſh Satyr*, to abaſe mſelfe to, who might have learnt better among the atin, and Italian Satyriſts, and in our own tongue om the *viſion and Creed of Pierce plowman*, beſides hers before him, manifeſted a preſumptuous unrtaking with weak, and unexamin'd ſhoulders. or a Satyr as it was borne out of a *Tragedy*, ſo ight to reſemble his parentage, to ſtrike high, and venture dangerouſly at the moſt eminent vices nong the greateſt perſons, and not to creepe into ery blinde Taphouſe that fears a Conſtable more en a Satyr. But that ſuch a Poem ſhould be othleſſe I ſtill affirme it to be a bull, taking away e eſſence of that which it calls it ſelfe. For if it te neither the perſons nor the vices, how is it a Satyr, d if it bite either, how is it toothleſſe, ſo that

toothleſſe Satyrs are as much as if he had ſaid toothleſſe teeth. What we ſhould do therefore with this learned Comment upon *teeth* and *horns* which hath brought this confutant into his *Pedantick* kingdome of *Cornucopia*, to reward him for gloſſing upon *hornes* even to the *Hebrew root*, I know not unleſſe we ſhould commend him to be Lecturer in Eaſt-cheap upon S. *Lukes* day, when they ſend their tribute to that famous hav'n by Detford. But we are not like to ſcape him ſo. For now the worme of *Criticiſme* works in him, he will tell us the derivation of *German rutters, of meat, and of ink,* which doubtleſſe rightly apply'd with ſome gall in it may prove good to heale this tetter of *Pedagoguiſme* that beſpreads him, with ſuch a *tenaſmus* of originating, that if he be an Arminian and deny originall ſinne, all the *etymologies* of his book ſhall witneſſe that his brain is not meanly tainted with that infection.

Sect. 7.] His ſeventh ſection labours to cavill out the flawes which were found in the Remonſtrants logick; who having layd downe for a generall propoſition, that *civill polity is variable and arbitrary*, from whence was inferr'd logically upon him that he had concluded the polity of England to be arbitrary, for generall includes particular, here his defendant is not aſham'd to confeſſe that the Remonſtrants propoſition was ſophiſticall *by a fallacy call'd ad plures interrogationes* which ſounds to me ſomewhat ſtrange that a Remonſtrant of that pretended ſincerity ſhould bring deceitfull and double dealing propoſitions to the Parlament. The truth is he had let ſlip a ſhrewd paſſage ere he was aware, not thinking the concluſion would turne upon him with ſuch a terrible edge, and not knowing how to winde out of the briars, he or his ſubſtitute ſeems more willing to lay the integrity of his Logick to pawn, and grant a fallacy in his owne *Major* where none is, then be forc't to up-

hold the inference. For that diſtinction *of poſſible and lawfull* is ridiculous to be ſought for in that propoſition; no man doubting that it is poſſible to change the forme of civill polity; and that it is held lawfull by that *Major*, the word *arbitrary* implyes. Nor will this helpe him, to deny that it is arbitrary *at any time or by any undertakers* (which are two limitations invented by him ſince) for when it ſtands as he will have it now by his ſecond edition *civill polity is variable but not at any time or by any undertakers*, it will reſult upon him, belike then at ſome time, and by ſome undertakers it may. And ſo he goes on mincing the matter, till he meets with ſomething in Sir *Francis Bacon*, then he takes heart againe and holds his *Major* at large. But by and by as ſoon as the ſhadow of Sir *Francis* hath left him, he fals off again warping and warping till he come to contradict himſelfe in diameter: and denies flatly that it is *either variable or arbitrary, being once ſettl'd*. Which third ſhift is no leſſe a piece of laughter. For before the polity was ſettl'd how could it be variable when as it was no polity at all, but either an *Anarchy* or a *Tyranny*. That limitation therefore *of after ſetling* is a meere *tautology*. So that in fine his former aſſertion is now recanted *and civill polity is neither variable nor arbitrary*.

Sect. 8.] What ever elſe may perſwade me that this confutation was not made without ſome aſſiſtance or advice of the Remonſtrant, yet in this eighth Section that his hand was not greatly intermixt, I can eaſily believe. For it begins with this ſurmiſe, that *not having to accuſe the Remonſtrant to the King, I do it to the Parlament*, which conceit of the man cleanly ſhoves the King out of the Parlament, and makes two bodies of one. Whereas the Remonſtrant in the Epiſtle to his laſt *ſhort anſwer, gives his ſuppoſall that they cannot be ſever'd in the rights of their ſeverall*

concernments. Mark, Readers, if they cannot be ſever'd in what is ſeverall (which caſts a Buls eye to go yoke with the toothleſſe Satyrs) how ſhould they be ſever'd in their common concernments, the wellfare of the land, by due accuſation of ſuch as are the common grievances, among which I took the Remonſtrant to be one. And therefore if I accus'd him to the Parlament, it was the ſame as to accuſe him to the King. Next he caſts it into the diſh of I know not whom that *they flatter ſome of the Houſe and libell others whoſe conſciences made them vote contrary to ſome proceedings*. Thoſe ſome proceedings can be underſtood of nothing elſe but the *Deputies* execution. And can this private concocter of malecontent, at the very inſtant when he pretends to extoll the Parlament, afford thus to blurre over, rather then to mention that publick triumph of their juſtice and conſtancy ſo high, ſo glorious, ſo reviving to the fainted Common-wealth with ſuch a ſuſpicious and murmuring expreſſion as to call it *ſome proceedings?* and yet immediately hee falls to glozing, as if hee were the only man that rejoyc't at theſe times. But I ſhall diſcover to ye Readers, that this his praiſing of them is as full of nonſenſe and Scolaſtick ſoppery, as his meaning he himſelfe diſcovers to be full of cloſe malignity. His firſt *Encomium* is *that the Sun looks not upon a braver nobler convocation then is that of King, Peers, and Commons*. One thing I beg of ye Readers, as ye beare any zeale to learning, to elegance, and that which is call'd *Decorum* in the writing of praiſe, eſpecially on ſuch a noble argument, ye would not be offended, though I rate this cloiſter'd Lubber according to his deſerts. Where didſt thou learne to be ſo agueiſh, ſo puſillanimous, thou lozel Bachelour of Art, as againſt all cuſtome and uſe of ſpeech to terme the high and ſovran Court of Parlament, a Convocation? was this the flower of

all thy *Synonyma's* and voluminous *Papers* whoſe beſt *folios* are predeſtin'd to no better end then to make winding ſheetes in Lent for Pilchers? Could'ſt thou preſume thus with one words ſpeaking to clap as it were under hatches the King with all his Peeres and Gentry into ſquare Caps, and Monkiſh hoods? How well doſt thou now appeare to be a Chip of the old block that could finde *Bridge-ſtreet and Alehouſes in heav'n;* why didſt thou not to be his perfect imitator, liken the King to the Vice-chancellour and the Lords to the Doctors. Neither is this an indignity only but a reproach, to call that inviolable reſidence of juſtice and liberty, by ſuch an odious name as now a *Convocation* is become; which would be nothing injur'd, though it were ſtil'd the houſe of bondage, whereout ſo many cruell taſks, ſo many unjuſt burdens, have been laden upon the bruſed conſciences of ſo many Chriſtians throughout the land. But which of thoſe worthy deeds, whereof we and our poſterity muſt confeſſe this Parlament to have done ſo many and ſo noble, which of thoſe memorable acts comes firſt into his praiſes? none of all, not one. What will he then praiſe them for? not for any thing doing, but for deferring to do, for deferring to chaſtiſe his leud and inſolent *compriests*. Not that they have deferr'd all, but that he hopes they will remit what is yet behind. For the reſt of his oratory that followes, ſo juſt is it in the language of ſtall epiſtle non ſenſe, that if he who made it can underſtand it, I deny not but that he may deſerve for his pains a caſt Doublet. When a man would looke he ſhould vent ſomething of his owne, as ever in a ſet ſpeech the manner is with him that knowes any thing, he, leſt we ſhould not take notice anough of his barren ſtupidity, declares it by Alphabet, and referres us to odde remnants in his topicks. Nor yet content with the wonted room of his margent, but he muſt cut out large docks and

creeks into his text to unlade the foolish frigate of his unseasonable autorities, not wherewith to praise the Parlament, but to tell them what he would have them do. What else there is, he jumbles together in such a lost construction, as no man either letter'd, or unletter'd will be able to piece up. I shall spare to transcribe him, but if I do him wrong, let me be so dealt with.

Now although it be a digression from the ensuing matter, yet because it shall not be said I am apter to blame others then to make triall my selfe, and that I may after this harsh discord touch upon a smoother string, awhile to entertaine my selfe and him that list, with some more pleasing sit, and not the left to testifie the gratitude which I owe to those publick benefactors of their country, for the share I enjoy in the common peace and good by their incessant labours, I shall be so troublesome to this declamer for once, as to shew him what he might have better said in their praise. Wherein I must mention only some few things of many, for more then that to a digression may not be granted. Although certainly their actions are worthy not thus to be spoken of by the way, yet if hereafter it befall me to attempt something more answerable to their great merits, I perceave how hopelesse it will be to reach the heigth of their prayses at the accomplishment of that expectation that weights upon their noble deeds, the unfinishing whereof already surpasses what others before them have left enacted with their utmost performance through many ages. And to the end we may be confident that what they do, proceeds neither from uncertaine opinion, nor sudden counsels, but from mature wisdome, deliberat vertue, and deere affection to the publick good, I shall begin at that which made them likeliest in the eyes of good men to effect those things for the recovery of decay'd re-

igion and the Commonwealth, which they who were best minded had long wisht for, but few, as the times then were desperat, had the courage to hope for. First therefore the most of them being either of ancient and high Nobility, or at least of knowne and well reputed ancestry, which is a great advantage towards vertue one way, but in respect of welth, ease, and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way, the good which lay before them they took, in imitating the worthiest of their progenitors, and the evill which assaulted their younger yeares by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usuall bringing up, perhaps too favourable and too remisse, through the strength of an inbred goodnesse, and with the helpe of divine grace, that had markt them out for no meane purposes, they nobly overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for being train'd up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places, which were intended to be the seed plots of piety and the Liberall Arts, but were become the nurseries of superstition, and empty speculation, as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idlenesse and superfluity, so were they happy in working off the harmes of their abused studies and labours; correcting by the clearnesse of their owne judgement the errors of their mis-instruction, and were as *David* was, wiser then their teachers. And although their lot fell into such times, and to be bred in such places, where if they chanc't to be taught any thing good, or of their own accord had learn't it, they might see that presently untaught them by the custome and ill example of their elders, so farre in all probability was their youth from being misled by the single power of example, as their riper years were knowne to be unmov'd with the baits of preferment, and undaunted for any discouragement

and terror which appear'd often to thoſe that lov'd religion, and their native liberty. Which two things God hath inſeparably knit together, and hath diſclos'd to us that they who ſeek to corrupt our religion are the ſame that would inthrall our civill liberty. Thus in the midſt of all diſadvantages and diſreſpects (ſome alſo at laſt not without impriſonment and open diſgraces in the cauſe of their countrey) having given proofe of themſelves to be better made and fram'd by nature to the love and practiſe of vertue, then others under the holieſt precepts and beſt examples have been headſtrong and prone to vice, and having in all the trialls of a firme ingrafted honeſty not oftner buckl'd in the conflict, then giv'n every oppoſition the foile, this moreover was added by favour from heav'n, as an ornament and happineſſe to their vertue, that it ſhould be neither obſcure in the opinion of men, nor eclipſt for want of matter equall to illuſtrat it ſelfe; God and man conſenting in joynt approbation to chooſe them out as worthieſt above others to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the reſtorers of the Common-wealth. Nor did they deceave that expectation which with the eyes and deſires of their countrey was fixt upon them; for no ſooner did the force of ſo much united excellence meet in one globe of brightneſſe and efficacy, but encountring the dazl'd reſiſtance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were ſtrong and ſuttle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatall block. With one ſtroke winning againe our loſt liberties and Charters, which our forefathers after ſo many battels could ſcarce maintaine. And meeting next, as I may ſo reſemble, with the ſecond life of tyranny (for ſhe was growne an ambiguous monſter, and to be ſlaine in two ſhapes) guarded with ſuperſtition which hath no ſmall power to captivate the minds of men otherwiſe moſt wiſe, they neither

rere taken with her miter'd hypocrisie, nor terrifi'd rith the push of her bestiall hornes, but breaking hem immediately forc't her to unbend the pontificall row, and recoile. Which repulse only, given to the 'relats (that we may imagine how happy their renovall would be) was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the Church, that if should compare them with those exployts of highest ame in Poems and *Panegyricks* of old, I am certaine t would but diminish and impaire their worth, who ıre now my argument. For those ancient worthies leliver'd men from such tyrants as were content to nforce only an outward obedience, letting the minde ɔe as free as it could. But these have freed us from ı doctrine of tyranny that offer'd violence and corruption even to the inward persuasion. They set at liberty Nations and Cities of men good and bad mixt together: but these opening the prisons and dungeons cal'd out of darknesse and bonds, the elect Martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer. They restor'd the body to ease and wealth; but these the oppreſt conscience to that freedome which is the chiefe prerogative of the Gospell; taking off those cruell burdens impos'd not by necessity, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulnesse and wantonnesse of a needlesse and jolly persecuter call'd Indifference. Lastly, some of those ancient deliverers have had immortall praises for preserving their citizens from a famine of corne. But these by this only repulse of an unholy *hierarchy* almost in a moment replenisht with saving knowledge their countrey nigh famisht for want of that which should feed their souls. All this being done while two armies in the field stood gazing on, the one in reverence of such noblenesse quietly gave back, and dislodg'd; the other spight of the unrulinesse, and doubted fidelity in some regi-

ment, was either perswaded or compell'd to disband and retire home. With such a majesty had their wisdome begun it selfe, that whereas others had lo-ved warre to subdue a nation that sought for peace, they living here in peace could so many miles extend the force of their single words as to overawe the dis-loyal frowardnesse of an armed power secretly stirr'd up and almost hir'd against them. And having by a solemne protestation vow'd themselves and the king-dome anew to God and his service, and by a prudent foresight above what their Fathers thought on, pre-vented the dissolution and frustrating of their designes by an untimely breaking up, notwithstanding all the treasonous plots against them, all the rumours either of rebellion, or invasion, they have not bin yet brought to change their constant resolution, ever to think fear-lesly of their owne safeties, and hopefully of the Com-mon-wealth. Which hath gain'd them such an ad-miration from all good men, that now they heare it as their ord'nary surname, to be saluted the Fathers of their countrey; and sit as gods among daily Pe-titions and publick thanks flowing in upon them. Which doth so little yet exalt them in their own thoughts, that with all gentle affability and curteous acceptance they both receave and returne that tribute of thanks which is tender'd them; testifying their zeale and desire to spend themselves as it were peice-meale upon the grievances and wrongs of their dis-tressed Nation. Insomuch that the meanest artizans and labourers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants assembling with their complaints, and that sometimes in a lesse humble guise then for petitioners, have gone with confidence, that neither their meannesse would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemn'd, nor yet their urgency distasted either by the dignity, wisdome, or modera-tion of that supreme Senate; nor did they depart un-

isfi'd. And indeed, if we consider the generall ncourse of suppliants, the free and ready admit-ıce, the willing and speedy redresse in what is pos-le, it will not seeme much otherwise, then as if ne divine commission from heav'n were descended take into hearing and commiseration the long re-:dilesse afflictions of this kingdome; were it not ıt none more then themselves labour to remove d divert such thoughts, lest men should place too ıch confidence in their persons, still referring us d our prayers to him that can grant all, and ap-ıinting the monthly return of publick fasts and sup-ications. Therefore the more they seeke to hum-: themselves, the more does God by manifest signes d testimonies visibly honour their proceedings; d sets them as the mediators of this his cov'nant hich he offers us to renew. Wicked men daily nspire their hurt, and it comes to nothing, rebellion ges in our Irish Province, but with miraculous and fleless victories of few against many is daily dis-mfited and broken; if we neglect not this early edge of Gods inclining towards us, by the slack-:sse of our needfull aids. And whereas at other nes we count it ample honour when God voutsafes make man the instrument and subordinate worker his gracious will, such acceptation have their pray-s found with him, that to them he hath bin pleas'd make himselfe the agent, and immediat performer their desires; dissolving their difficulties when they e thought inexplicable, cutting out wayes for them here no passage could be seene; as who is there so gardlesse of Divine providence, that from late oc-ırrences will not confesse. If therefore it be so gh a grace when men are preferr'd to be but the ferior officers of good things from God, what is it hen God himselfe condescends, and workes with s owne hands to fulfill the requests of men; which

I leave with them as the greateſt praiſe that can be long to humane nature. Not that we ſhould think they are at the end of their glorious progreſſe, but that they will go on to follow his Almighty leader who ſeems to have thus cov'nanted with them, that if the will and the endeavour ſhall be theirs, the performance and the perfeting ſhall be his. Whence only it is that I have not fear'd, though many wise men have miſcarried in praiſing great deſignes before the utmoſt event, becauſe I ſee who is their aſſiſtant, who their confederat, who hath ingag'd his omnipotent arme, to ſupport and crowne with ſucceſſe their faith, their fortitude, their juſt and magnanimous actions, till he have brought to paſſe all that expected good which his ſervants truſt is in his thoughts to bring upon this land in the full and perfet reformation of his Church.

Thus farre I have digreſt, Readers, from my former ſubject; but into ſuch a path, as I doubt not ye will agree with me, to be much fairer and more delightfull than the rode way I was in. And how to break off ſuddenly into thoſe jarring notes, which this Confuter hath ſet me, I muſt be wary, unleſſe I can provide againſt offending the eare, as ſome Muſicians are wont ſkilfully to fall out of one key into another without breach of harmony. By good luck therefore his ninth Section is ſpent in mournfull elegy, certaine paſſionat ſoliloquies, and two whole pages of interrogatories that praiſe the Remonſtrant even to the ſonetting of *his freſh cheeks, quick eyes, round tongue, agil hand, and nimble invention.*

In his tenth Section he will needs erect figures, and tell fortunes. *I am no Biſhop*, he ſayes, *I was never borne to it;* let me tell therefore this wizzard ſince he calculats ſo right, that he may know there be in the world, and I among thoſe who nothing admire his Idol a Biſhoprick, and hold that it wants

ſo much to be a bleſſing, as that I rather deeme it the meereſt, the falſeſt, the moſt unfortunate guift of fortune. And were the puniſhment and miſery of being a Prelat Biſhop terminated only in the perſon, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole Dioceſſe, if I would wiſh any thing in bitterneſſe of ſoule to mine enemy, I would wiſh him the biggeſt and the fatteſt Biſhoprick. But hee proceeds; and the familiar belike informs him, that *a rich Widow, or a Lecture, or both, would content me;* whereby I perceave him to be more ignorant in his art of divining then any Gipſy. For this I cannot omit without ingratitude to that providence above, who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not bin unexpenſive in learning, and voyaging about, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe him to lend mee what he hath hitherto thought good, which is anough to ſerve me in all honeſt and liberall occaſions, and ſomething over beſides. I were unthankfull to that higheſt bounty, if I ſhould make my ſelfe ſo poore, as to ſollicite needily any ſuch kinde of *rich hopes* as this Fortuneteller dreams of. And that he may furder learne how his Aſtrology is wide all the houſes of heav'n in ſpelling mariages, I care not if I tell him thus much profeſtly, though it be to the loſing of my *rich hopes*, as he calls them, that I think with them who both in prudence and elegance of ſpirit would chooſe a virgin of mean fortunes honeſtly bred, before the wealthieſt widow. The feind therefore that told our *Chaldean* the contrary was a lying feind. His next venome he utters againſt a prayer which he found in the animadverſions, angry it ſeems to finde any prayers but in the Service Book. He diſlikes it, and I therefore like it the better. *It was theatricall*, he ſayes. And yet it conſiſted moſt of Scripture language: it had no *Rubrick* to be ſung in an antick Coape upon the Stage of a High Altar.

It was big-mouth'd he ſayes; no marvell; if it were fram'd as the voice of three Kingdomes: neither was it a prayer ſo much as a hymne in proſe frequent both in the Prophets, and in humane authors; therefore the ſtile was greater then for an ordinary prayer: *It was an aſtounding prayer.* I thank him for that confeſſion, ſo it was intended to aſtound and to aſtoniſh the guilty Prelats; and this Confuter confeſſes that with him it wrought that effect. But in that which followes, he does not play the Soothſayer but the diabolick ſlanderer of prayers. *It was made*, he ſayes, *not ſo much to pleaſe God, or to benefit the weale publick* (how dares the Viper judge that) *but to intimate*, ſaith he, *your good abilities, to her that is your rich hopes, your Maronilla.* How hard it is when a man meets with a Foole to keepe his tongue from folly. That were miſerable indeed to be a Courter of *Maronilla*, and withall of ſuch a hapleſſe invention, as that no way ſhould be left me to preſent my meaning but to make my ſelfe a canting Probationer of oriſons, The Remonſtrant when he was as young as I could

Toothleſſe Satyrs,
Teach each hollow Grove to ſound his love
Wearying eccho with one changeleſſe word.

And ſo he well might, and all his auditory beſides with his *teach each.*

Toothleſſe Satyrs,
Whether ſo me liſt my lovely thoughts to ſing,
Come dance ye nimble dryads by my ſide,
Whiles I report my fortunes or my loves.

Delicious! he had that whole bevie at command whether in morrice or at May pole. Whileſt I, by this figure-caſter muſt be imagin'd in ſuch diſtreſſe as to ſue to *Maronilla*, and yet left ſo impoveriſht of what to ſay, as to turne my Liturgy into my Ladies Pſalter. Believe it graduat, I am not altogether ſo ruſtick, and nothing ſo irreligious, but as farre diſ-

from a Lecturer, as the meereſt Laick, for any
ecrating hand of a Prelat that ſhall ever touch
Yet I ſhall not decline the more for that, to
k my opinion in the controverſie next mov'd.
ther the people may be allow'd, for competent judges
miniſters ability. For how elſe can be fulfill'd that
:h God hath promis'd, to power out ſuch abun-
e of knowledge upon all ſorts of men in the
s of the Goſpell? how ſhould the people exa-
: the doctrine which is taught them, as Chriſt and
Apoſtles continually bid them do? how ſhould
diſcerne and beware of falſe Prophets, and try every
', if they muſt be thought unfit to judge of the
ſters abilities: the Apoſtles ever labour'd to per-
e the Chriſtian flock that they *were call'd in Chriſt*
! perfectneſſe of ſpirituall knowledge, and full aſſur-
of underſtanding in the myſtery of God. But the non-
ent and plurality-gaping Prelats the gulphs and
le pools of benefices, but the dry pits of all ſound
·ine, that they may the better preach what they
o their ſheep, are ſtill poſſeſſing them that they
heepe indeed, without judgement, without un-
anding, *the very beaſts of Mount Sinai*, as this
futer calls them; which words of theirs may
: to condemne them out of their owne mouths;
to ſhew the groſſe contrarieties that are in their
ions. For while none thinke the people ſo void
nowledge as the Prelats think them, none are ſo
ward and malignant as they to beſtow know-
e upon them; both by ſuppreſſing the frequency
:rmons, and the printed explanations of the Eng-
Bible. No marvell if the people turne beaſts,
n their Teachers themſelves as *Iſaiah* calls them,
dumbe and greedy dogs that can never have anough,
·ant, blind, and cannot underſtand, who while they
ook their own way every one for his gaine from his
ter, how many parts of the land are fed with

windy ceremonies inſtead of ſincere milke; and one Prelat enjoyes the nouriſhment and ri twenty Miniſters, how many waſte places are darke as *Galile of the Gentiles, ſitting in the reg ſhadow of death;* without preaching Miniſter out light. So little care they of beaſts to them men, that by their ſorcerous doctrine malities they take the way to transforme th of Chriſtian men into *Judaizing* beaſts. Ha but taught the land, or ſuffer'd it to be tau Chriſt would it ſhould have bin, in all plente penſation of the word, then the poore mec might have ſo accuſtom'd his eare to good te as to have diſcern'd betweene faithfull teach falſe. But now with a moſt inhumane cruel who have put out the peoples eyes reproach t their blindneſſe. Juſt as the Phariſees the Fathers were wont; who could not indure t people ſhould be thought competent judges of doctrine, although we know they judg'd farr then thoſe great Rabbies. Yet *this people,* ſa *that knowes not the law is accurſt.* We need autority of *Pliny* brought to tell us, the peop not judge of a miniſter. Yet that hurts not as none can judge of a Painter, or Statuary who is an Artiſt, that is, either in the *Practic Theory,* which is often ſeparated from the p and judges learnedly without it, ſo none ca of a Chriſtian teacher, but he who hath, eit

are ſet downe in Scripture. The one is to reade
a that beſt of books written to this purpoſe, that
he wiſe only but the ſimple and ignorant may
e by them; the other way to know of a miniſ-
s by the life he leads, whereof the meaneſt un-
anding may be apprehenſive. The laſt way to
e aright in this point is when he who judges,
a Chriſtian life himſelfe. Which of theſe three
the Confuter affirme to exceed the capacity of
ine artizan? And what reaſon then is there
wherefore he ſhould be deny'd his voice in the
ion of his miniſter, as not thought a competent
rner? It is but arrogance therefore, and the
e of a *metaphyſicall* fume, to thinke that *the mu-
us rabble* (for ſo he calls the Chriſtian congrega-
) *would be ſo miſtaken in a Clerk of the Univerſity*
were to be their miniſter. I doubt me thoſe
ks that think ſo, are more miſtaken in them-
s, and what with truanting and debauſhery, what
falſe grounds and the weakneſſe of naturall fa-
es in many of them (it being a maxim in ſome
to ſend the ſimpleſt of their ſonnes thither) per-
there would be found among them as many
lid and corrupted judgements both in doctrine
life, as in any other two Corporations of like
eſſe. This is undoubted that if any Carpenter
h, or Weaver, were ſuch a bungler in his trade,
e greater number of them are in their profeſ-
he would ſtarve for any cuſtome. And ſhould
xerciſe his manifacture, as little as they do their
its, he would forget his art: and ſhould he miſ-
his tools as they do theirs, he would marre all
worke he took in hand. How few among them
know to write, or ſpeak in a pure ſtile, much
to diſtinguiſh the *idea's*, and various kinds of
: in Latine barbarous, and oft not without *ſole-
r*, declaming in rugged and miſcellaneous geare

blown together by the foure winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankneſſe of *Apuleius*, *Arnobius*, or any moderne fuſtianiſt, before the native *Latiniſms* of *Cicero*. In the Greek tongue moſt of them unletter'd, or unenter'd to any ſound proficiency in thoſe *Attick* maiſters of morall wiſdome and eloquence. In the Hebrew text, which is ſo neceſſary to be underſtood except it be ſome few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcis'd. No leſſe are they out of the way in philoſophy; peſtring their heads with the ſapleſſe dotages of old *Paris and Salamanca*. And that which is the main point, in their Sermons affecting the comments and poſtils of Friers and Jeſuits, but ſcorning and ſlighting the reformed writers. In ſo much that the better ſort among them will confeſſe it a rare matter to heare a true edifying Sermon in either of their great Churches; and that ſuch as are moſt humm'd and applauded there, would ſcarce be ſuffer'd the ſecond hearing in a grave congregation of pious Chriſtians. Is there cauſe why theſe men ſhould overween, and be ſo queaſie of the rude multitude, leſt their deepe worth ſhould be undervalu'd for want of fit umpires? No my *matriculated confutant* there will not want in any congregation of this Iſland, that hath not beene altogether famiſht, or wholly perverted with Prelatiſh leven, there will not want divers plaine and ſolid men, that have learnt by the experience of a good conſcience, what it is to be well taught, who will ſoone look through and through both the lofty nakedneſſe of your *Latinizing* Babarian, and the finicall gooſery of your neat Sermon-actor. And ſo I leave you and your fellow *ſtarres*, as you terme them, *of either horizon*, meaning I ſuppoſe either *hemiſphere*, unleſſe you will be ridiculous in your aſtronomy. For the rationall horizon in heav'n is but one, and the ſenſible horizons in earth are innumerable; ſo

that your alluſion was as erroneous as your ſtarres. But that you did well to prognoſticat them all at loweſt in the horizon, that is either ſeeming bigger then they are through the miſt and vapour which they raiſe, or elſe ſinking, and waſted to the ſnuffe in their weſterne ſocket.

Sect. 11. His eleventh Section intends I know not what unleſſe to clog us with the reſidue of his phlegmatick ſloth, diſcuſſing with a heavie pulſe the *expedience of ſet formes:* which no queſtion but to ſome, and for ſome time may be permitted, and perhaps there may be uſefully ſet forth by the Church a common *directory* of publick prayer, eſpecially in the adminiſtration of the Sacraments. But that it ſhould therefore be inforc't where both miniſter and people profeſſe to have no need, but to be ſcandaliz'd by it, that, I hope, every ſenſible Chriſtian will deny. And the reaſons of ſuch deniall the confuter himſelfe, as his bounty ſtill is to his adverſary, will give us out of his affirmation. Firſt ſaith he, *God in his providence hath choſen ſome to teach others and pray for others, as miniſters and Paſtors.* Whence I gather, that however the faculty of others may be, yet that they whom God hath ſet apart to his miniſtery, are by him endu'd with an ability of prayer; becauſe their office is to pray for others. And not to be the lip-working deacons of other mens appointed words. Nor is it eaſily credible that he who can preach well ſhould be unable to pray well; when as it is indeed the ſame ability to ſpeak affirmatively, or doctrinally, and only by changing the mood to ſpeak prayingly. In vaine therefore do they pretend to want utterance in prayer, who can finde utterance to preach. And if prayer be the guift of the Spirit, why do they admit thoſe to the Miniſtery, who want a maine guift of their function, and preſcribe guifted men to uſe that which is the remedy of another

mans want; ſetting them their taſks to read, whom the Spirit of God ſtands ready to aſſiſt in his ordinance with the guiſt of free conceptions. What if it be granted to the infirmity of ſome Miniſters (though ſuch ſeeme rather to be halfe miniſters) to help themſelves with a ſet forme, ſhall it therefore be urg'd upon the plenteous graces of others? and let it be granted to ſome people while they are babes in Chriſtian guiſts, were it not better to take it away ſoone after, as we do loitering books, and *interlineary* tranſlations from children; to ſtirre up and exerciſe that portion of the ſpirit which is in them, and not impoſe it upon congregations who not only deny to need it, but as a thing troubleſome and offenſive refuſe it. Another reaſon which he brings for liturgie, is *the preſerving of order, unity, and piety*, and the ſame ſhall be my reaſon againſt Liturgy. For I Readers, ſhall alwayes be of this opinion, that obedience to the Spirit of God, rather then to the faire ſeeming pretences of men, is the beſt and moſt dutifull order that a Chriſtian can obſerve. If the Spirit of God manifeſt the guiſt of prayer in his Miniſter, what more ſeemely order in the congregation, then to go along with that man in our devouteſt affections? for him to abridge himſelfe by reading, and to foreſtall himſelfe in thoſe petitions, which he muſt either omit, or vainly repeat, when he comes into the Pulpit under a ſhew of order, is the greateſt diſorder. Nor is unity leſſe broken, eſpecially by our Liturgy, though this author would almoſt bring the Communion of Saints to a Communion of Liturgicall words. For what other reformed Church holds communion with us by our liturgy, and does not rather diſlike it? and among our ſelves who knowes it not to have bin a perpetuall cauſe of diſunion. Laſtly, it hinders piety rather then ſets it forward, being more apt to weaken the ſpirituall

ties, if the people be not wean'd from it in due ; as the daily powring in of hot waters quenches naturall heat. For not only the body, and the l, but also the improvement of Gods Spirit is en'd by using. Wheras they who will ever re to liturgy, bring themselves in the end to a passe by overmuch leaning as to loose even egs of their devotion. These inconveniencies dangers follow the compelling of set formes: hat the toleration of the English Liturgy now se, is more dangerous then the compelling of other which the reformed Churches use, these ons following may evince. To contend that it is asticall, if not senseleſſe in some places, were a ious argument, especially in the *Responsories*. For alternations as are there us'd must be by severall ons; but the Minister and the people cannot so r their interests, as to sustaine severall persons; he g the only mouth of the whole body which he ents. And if the people pray he being silent, or ask one thing and he another, it either changes property, making the Priest the people, and the le the Priest by turnes, or else makes two per- and two bodies representative where there should ut one. Which if it be nought else, must needs strange quaintnesse in ordinary prayer. The , or worse may be said of the *Litany*, wherein her Priest nor people speak any intire sense of nselves throughout the whole I know not what ame it; only by the timely contribution of their ed stakes, closing up as it were the *schisme* of a prayer, they pray not in vaine, for by this ns they keep life betweene them in a piece of ing sense, and keep downe the sawcinesse of a inuall rebounding nonsense. And hence it is as it hath been farre from the imitation of any ranted prayer, so we all know it hath bin obvious

to be the pattern of many a Jig. And he who hath but read in good books of devotion and no more, cannot be ſo either of eare or judgement unpractiz'd to diſtinguiſh what is grave, *patheticall*, devout, and what not, but will preſently perceave this Liturgy all over in conception leane and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of paſſion, or any heigth whereto the ſoule might ſoar upon the wings of zeale, deſtitute and barren: beſides errors, *tautologies*, impertinences, as thoſe thanks in the womans Churching for her delivery from Sunburning and Moonblaſting, as if ſhe had bin travailing not in her bed, but in the deſerts of *Arabia*. So that while ſome men ceaſe not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as faſt what they think is become of judgement, and taſt in other men, that they can hope to be heard without laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were a complyable matter. But when we remember this our liturgy, where we found it, whence we had it, and yet where we left it, ſtill ſerving to all the abominations of the Antichriſtian temple, it may be wonder'd how we can demurre whether it ſhould be done away or no, and not rather feare we have highly offended in uſing it ſo long. It hath indeed bin pretended to be more ancient then the Maſſe, but ſo little prov'd, that whereas other corrupt Liturgies have had withall ſuch a ſeeming antiquity, as that their publiſhers have ventur'd to aſcribe them with their worſt corruptions either to S. *Peter*, S. *James*, S. *Mark*, or at leaſt to *Chryſoſtome*, or *Baſil*, ours hath bin never able to find either age, or author allowable, on whom to father thoſe things therein which are leaſt offenſive, except the two Creeds, for *Te Deum* has a ſmach in it of *Limbus Patrum*. As if Chriſt had not *open'd the kingdome of heaven* before he had *overcome the ſharpneſſe of death*. So that having receav'd

it from the Papall Church as an originall creature, for ought can be ſhewn to the contrary, form'd and faſhion'd by work maiſters ill to be truſted, we may be aſſur'd that if God loathe the beſt of an Idolaters prayer, much more the conceited fangle of his prayer. This Confuter himſelfe confeſſes that a community of the ſame ſet forme in prayers, is that which *makes Church and Church truly one;* we then uſing a Liturgy farre more like to the Maſſe-book then to any Proteſtant ſet forme, by his owne words muſt have more communion with the *Romiſh Church*, then with any of the reformed. How can we then not partake with them the curſe and vengeance of their ſuperſtition, to whom we come ſo neere in the ſame ſet forme and dreſſe of our devotion? do we thinke to ſift the matter finer then we are ſure God in his jealouſie will? who deteſted both the gold and the ſpoile of Idolatrous Cities, and forbid the eating of things offer'd to Idols. Are we ſtronger then he, to brook that which his heart cannot brook? It is not ſurely becauſe we think that praiers are no where to be had but at *Rome;* that were a foule ſcorne and indignity caſt upon all the reformed Churches, and our own; if we imagine that all the godly Miniſters of England are not able to new mould a better and more pious Liturgy then this which was conceav'd and infanted by an idolatrous Mother: how baſely were that to eſteeme of Gods Spirit, and all the holy bleſſings and priviledges of a true Church above a falſe? Heark ye Prelats, is this your glorious Mother of England, who when as Chriſt hath taught her to pray, thinks it not anough unleſſe ſhe adde thereto the teaching of Antichriſt? How can we believe ye would refuſe to take the ſtipend of Rome, when ye ſhame not to live upon the almes-baſket of her prayers? will ye perſwade us that ye can curſe Rome from your hearts when none

but Rome muſt teach ye to pray? *Abraham* diſdain'd to take ſo much as a thred or a ſhoo latchet from the King of *Sodome*, though no foe of his, but a wicked King, and ſhall we receave our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies? whoſe guifts are no guifts, but the inſtruments of our bane? Alas that the Spirit of God ſhould blow as an uncertaine wind, ſhould ſo miſtake his inſpiring, to miſbeſtow his guifts promis'd only to the elect, that the idolatrous ſhould finde words acceptable to preſent God with and abound to their neighbours, while the true profeſſors of the Goſpell can find nothing of their own worth the conſtituting, wherewith to worſhip God in publick. Conſider if this be to magnifie the Church of England, and not rather to diſplay her nakedneſſe to all the world. Like therefore as the retaining of this Romiſh Liturgy is a provocation to God, and a diſhonour to our Church, ſo is it by thoſe ceremonies, thoſe purifyings and offrings at the Altar, a pollution and diſturbance to the Goſpell it ſelfe; and a kinde of driving us with the fooliſh *Galatians* to another goſpell. For that which the Apoſtles taught hath freed us in religion from the *ordinances of men*, and commands that *burdens be not laid* upon the redeemed of Chriſt, though the formaliſt will ſay, what no decency in Gods worſhip? Certainly Readers, the worſhip of God ſingly in it ſelfe, the very act of prayer and thankſgiving with thoſe free and unimpos'd expreſſions which from a ſincere heart unbidden come into the outward geſture, is the greateſt decency that can be imagin'd. Which to dreſſe up and garniſh with a devis'd bravery aboliſht in the law, and diſclam'd by the Goſpell addes nothing but a deformed uglineſſe. And hath ever afforded a colourable pretenſe to bring in all thoſe traditions and carnalities that are ſo killing to the power and ver-

e of the Gospell. What was that which made the wes figur'd under the names of *Aholah* and *Aho-ah* go a whooring after all the heathens inven-ns, but that they saw a religion gorgeously attir'd d desirable to the eye? What was all, that the se Doctors of the Primitive Church, and ever since ve done, but *to make a faire shew in the flesh*, as S. *uls* words are? If we have indeed given a bill of rorce to Popery and superstition, why do we not r as to a divors't wife; those things which are urs take them all with you, and they shall sweepe er you? Why were not we thus wise at our rting from Rome? Ah like a crafty adultresse e forgot not all her smooth looks and inticing ords at her parting; yet keep these letters, these kens, and these few ornaments; I am not all so eedy of what is mine, let them preserve with you e memory of what I am? No, but of what I was, ce faire and lovely in your eyes. Thus did those ider hearted reformers dotingly suffer themselves be overcome with harlots language. And she e a witch, but with a contrary policy did not take nething of theirs that she might still have power bewitch them, but for the same intent left some-ing of her own behind her. And that her whoorish nning should prevaile to work upon us her deceit-ll ends, though it be sad to speak, yet such is our indnesse, that we deserve. For we are deepe in tage. We cry out *Sacriledge and misdevotion* against ose who in zeale have demolish't the dens and ges of her uncleane wallowings. We stand for a pish Liturgy as for the ark of our Cov'nant. And little does it appeare our prayers are from the art, that multitudes of us declare, they know not w to pray but by rote. Yet they can learnedly vent a prayer of their own to the Parlament, that ey may still ignorantly read the prayers of other

men to God. They object that if wee muſt forſake all that is Rome's, we muſt bid adieu to our Creed; and I had thought our Creed had bin of the Apoſtles; for ſo it beares title. But if it be hers let her take it. We can want no Creed, ſo long as we want not the Scriptures. We magnifie thoſe who in reforming our Church have inconſideratly and blamefully permitted the old leven to remaine and ſoure our whole lumpe. But *they were Martyrs;* True and he that looks well into the book of Gods providence, if he read there that God for this their negligence and halting, brought all that following perſecution upon this Church, and on themſelves, perhaps will be found at the laſt day not to have read amiſſe.

Sect. 12.] But now, Readers, we have the Port within ſight; his laſt Section which is no deepe one, remains only to be foarded, and then the wiſht ſhoare. And here firſt it pleaſes him much, that he hath diſcri'd me, as he conceaves, to be unread in the Counſels. Concerning which matter it will not be unneceſſary to ſhape him this anſwer; That ſome years I had ſpent in the ſtories of thoſe Greek and Roman exploits, wherein I found many things both nobly done, and worthily ſpoken: when comming in the method of time to that age wherein the Church had obtain'd a Chriſtian Emperor, I ſo prepar'd my ſelfe, as being now to read examples of wiſdome and goodneſſe among thoſe who were formoſt in the Church, not elſe where to be parallell'd: But to the amazement of what I expected, Readers, I found it all quite contrary; excepting in ſome very few, nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combuſtion: in ſo much that I could not but love the Hiſtorian *Socrates*, who in the proem to his fifth book profeſſes, *He was faine to intermixe affaires of State, for that it would be elſe an extreame annoyance to heare in a continu'd*

discourse the endlesse brabbles and counterplottings of the Bishops. Finding therefore the most of their actions in single to be weak, and yet turbulent, full of strife and yet flat of spirit, and the summe of their best councels there collected, to be most commonly in questions either triviall and vaine, or else of short, and easie decision without that great bustle which they made, I concluded that if their single ambition and ignorance was such, then certainly united in a Councell it would be much more; and if the compendious recitall of what they there did was so tedious and unprofitable, then surely to sit out the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen volumes, would be a losse of time irrecoverable. Besides that which I had read of S. *Martin,* who for his last sixteene yeares could never be perswaded to be at any Councell of the Bishops. And *Gregory Nazianzen* betook him to the same resolution affirming to *Procopius, that of any Councell, or meeting of Bishops he never saw good end; nor any remedy thereby of evill in the Church, but rather an increase. For,* saith he, *their contentions and desire of Lording no tongue is able to expresse.* I have not therefore I confesse read more of the Councels save here and there, I should be sorry to have bin such a prodigall of my time: but that which is better, I can assure this Confuter; I have read into them all. And if I want any thing yet, I shall reply something toward that which in the defence of *Muræna* was answer'd by *Cicero to Sulpitius* the Lawyer. If ye provoke me (for at no hand else will I undertake such a frivolous labour) I will in three months be an expert councelist. For be not deceav'd, Readers, by men that would overawe your eares with big names and huge Tomes that contradict and repeal one another, because they can cramme a margent with citations. Do but winnow their chaffe from their wheat, ye shall see their great heape shrink and

wax thin paſt beliefe. From hence he paſſes to enquire wherefore I ſhould blame the vices of the Prelats only, ſeeing the inferiour Clergy is known to be as faulty. To which let him heare in briefe; that thoſe Prieſts whoſe vices have been notorious, are all Prelaticall, which argues both the impiety of that opinion, and the wicked remiſneſſe of that government. We hear not of any which are call'd *Nonconformiſts* that have been accus'd for ſcandalous living; but are known to be pious, or at leaſt ſober men. Which is a great good argument, that they are in the truth and Prelats in the error. He would be reſolv'd next *What the corruptions of the Univerſities concerne the Prelats?* and to that let him take this, That the Remonſtrant having ſpok'n as if learning would decay with the removall of Prelats, I ſhew'd him that while books were extant, and in print, learning could not readily be at a worſe paſſe in the Univerſities then it was now under their government. Then he ſeeks to juſtifie the pernicious Sermons of the Clergy, as if they upheld ſoveranty, when as all Chriſtian ſoveranty is by law, and to no other end but to the maintenance of the common good. But their doctrine was plainly the diſſolution of law which only ſets up ſov'ranty, and the erecting of an arbitrary ſway according to privat will, to which they would enjoyne a ſlaviſh obedience without law; which is the known definition of a tyrant, and a tyranniz'd people. A little beneath he denies that great riches in the Church are the baits of pride and ambition: of which error to undeceave him, I ſhall allege a reputed divine autority, as ancient as *Conſtantine*, which his love to antiquity muſt not except againſt; and to adde the more waight, he ſhall learne it rather in the words of our old Poet *Gower* then in mine, that he may ſee it is no new opinion, but a truth deliver'd of old by a voice from heav'n, and ratify'd by long experience.

This Constantine which heal hath found
Within Rome anon let found
Two Churches which he did make
For Peter and for Pauls sake:
Of whom he had a vision,
And yake therto possession
Of Lordship and of worlds good;
But how so that his will was good
Toward the Pope and his Franchise
Yet hath it proved otherwise
To see the working of the deed,
For in Cronick thus I read
Anon as he hath made the yeft
A voice was heard on high the left
Of which all Rome was adrad
And said this day venim is shad
In holy Church, of temporall
That medleth with the spirituall
And how it stant in that degree
Yet may a man the sooth see.
God amend it whan he will
I can thereto none other skill.

But there were beasts of prey, saith he, before wealth was bestow'd on the Church. What though? because the Vulturs had then but small pickings; shall we therefore go and fling them a full gorge? if they for lucre use to creepe into the Church undiscernably, the more wisdome will it be so to provide that no revennu there may exceed the golden mean. For so, good Pastors will be content, as having need of no more, and knowing withall the precept and example of Christ and his Apostles, and also will be lesse tempted to ambition. The bad will have but small matter whereon to set their mischiefe a work. And the worst and sutlest heads will not come at all, when they shall see the crop nothing answerable to their capacious greedinesse. For small temptations allure but dribling offendors; but a great purchase will call such as both are most able of them-

ſelves, and will be moſt inabl'd hereby to compaſſe dangerous projects. But ſaith he, *A widows houſe will tempt as well as a Biſhops Palace.* Acutely ſpok'n. Becauſe neither we, nor the Prelats can aboliſh widows houſes which are but an occaſion taken of evill without the Church, therefore we ſhall ſet up within the Church a Lottery of ſuch prizes as are the direct inviting cauſes of avarice and ambition, both unneceſſary and harmefull to be propos'd, and moſt eaſie, moſt convenient, and needfull to be remov'd. *Yea but they are in a wiſe diſpencers hand.* Let them be in whoſe hand they will, they are moſt apt to blind, to puffe up and pervert the moſt ſeeming good. And how they have bin kept from Vultures, what ever the diſpencers care hath bin, we have learnt by our miſeries. But this which comes next in view, I know not what good vein, or humor took him, when he let drop into his paper. I that was ere while the ignorant, the loyterer, on the ſudden by his permiſſion am now granted *to know ſomething.* And that *ſuch a volley of expreſſions* he hath met withall, *as he would never deſire to have them better cloth'd.* For me, Readers, although I cannot ſay that I am utterly untrain'd in thoſe rules which beſt Rhetoricians have giv'n, or unacquainted with thoſe examples which the prime authors of eloquence have written in any learned tongu, yet true eloquence I find to be none, but the ſerious and hearty love of truth: And that whoſe mind ſo ever is fully poſſeſt with a fervent deſire to know good things, and with the deareſt charity to infuſe the knowledge of them into others, when ſuch a man would ſpeak, his words (by what I can expreſſe) like ſo many nimble and airy ſervitors trip about him at command, and in well order'd files, as he would wiſh, fall aptly into their own places. But now to the remainder of our diſcours. Chriſt refus'd great riches, and large honours at the Devil:

l. But why, ſaith he, *as they were tender'd by from whom it was a ſin to receave them.* Timely ember'd: why is it not therefore as much a ſin ceave a Liturgy of the maſſes giving, were it nothing elſe but for the giver? *But he could make ſe of ſuch a high eſtate,* quoth the Confuter; opunely. For why then ſhould the ſervant take n him to uſe thoſe things which his maſter had ted himſelfe to uſe, that hee might teach his ſters to follow his ſteps in the ſame miniſtery. *they were offer'd him to a bad end.* So they prove e Prelats; who after their preferment moſt uſually ge the teaching labour of the word, into the unning eaſe of Lordſhip over conſciences, and purſes. hee proceeds, *God entic't the Iſraelites with the iſe of Canaan.* Did not the Prelats bring as ſlaviſh les with them, as the Jewes brought out of Egypt, had left out that inſtance. Beſides that it was the time, when as the beſt of them, as Saint ſaith, *was ſhut up unto the faith under the Law* School-maiſter, who was forc't to intice them ildren with childiſh enticements. But the Goſis our manhood, and the miniſtery ſhould bee nanhood of the Goſpell, not to looke after, much ſo baſely to plead for earthly rewards. *But God ed* the wiſeſt man *Salomon with theſe means.* Ah ſuter of thy ſelfe, this example hath undone thee, *non* aſkt an underſtanding heart, which the Prehave little care to aſk. He aſkt no riches which eir chiefe care: therefore was the prayer of *Sa-* pleaſing to God: hee gave him wiſdome at his eſt, and riches without aſking: as now hee gives Prelats riches at their ſeeking, and no wiſdome uſe of their perverſe aſking. But hee gives not yet, *Moſes had an eye to the reward.* To what ard, thou man that looks't with *Balaams* eyes, to t reward had the faith of *Moſes* an eye to? He

that had forſaken all the greatneſſe of *Egypt*, and choſe a troubleſome journey in his old age through the Wilderneſſe, and yet arriv'd not at his journies end: His faithfull eyes were fixt upon that incorruptible reward, promis'd to *Abraham* and his ſeed in the *Meſſiah*, hee ſought a heav'nly reward which could make him happy, and never hurt him, and to ſuch a reward every good man may have a reſpect. But the Prelats are eager of ſuch rewards as cannot make them happy, but can only make them worſe. *Jacob* a Prince borne, vow'd, that if God would *but give him bread to eat and raiment to put on, then the Lord ſhould be his God.* But the Prelats of meane birth, and oft times of loweſt, making ſhew as if they were call'd to the ſpirituall and humble miniſtery of the Goſpell, yet murmur, and thinke it a hard ſervice, unleſſe contrary to the tenour of their profeſſion, they may eat the bread and weare the honours of Princes. So much more covetous and baſe they are then *Simon Magus*, for he proffer'd a reward to be admitted to that work, which they will not be meanly hir'd to. But ſaith he, *Are not the Clergy members of Chriſt, why ſhould not each member thrive alike?* Carnall textman! As if worldly thriving were one of the priviledges wee have by being in Chriſt, and were not a providence oft times extended more liberally to the Infidell then to the Chriſtian. Therefore muſt the Miniſters of Chriſt not be over rich or great in the world, becauſe their calling is ſpirituall, not ſecular; becauſe they have a ſpeciall warfare, which is not to be intangl'd with many impediments: becauſe their Maiſter Chriſt gave them this precept, and ſet them this example, told them this was the myſtery of his comming, by meane things and perſons to ſubdue mighty ones: and laſtly becauſe a middle eſtate is moſt proper to the office of teaching. Whereas higher dignity teaches farre leſſe, and blindes

the teacher. Nay, ſaith the Confuter, fetching his laſt indeavour, *The Prelats will be very loath to let go their Baronies, and votes in Parlament*, and calls it *Gods cauſe*, with an unſufferable impudence. *Not that they love the honours and the means*, good men and generous, *but that they would not have their countrey made guilty of ſuch a ſacrilege and injuſtice*. A worthy Patriot for his owne corrupt ends! That which hee imputes as ſacrilege to his countrey, is the only way left them to purge that abominable ſacrilege out of the land, which none but the Prelats are guilty of. Who for the diſcharge of one ſingle duty receave and keepe that which might bee anough to ſatisfie the labours of many painefull Miniſters better deſerving then themſelves. Who poſſeſſe huge Benefices for lazie performances, great promotions, only for the execution of a cruell diſgoſpelling juriſdiction. Who ingroſſe many pluralities under a *non-reſident* and ſlubbring diſpatch of ſoules. Who let hundreds of pariſhes famiſh in one *Dioceſſe*, while they the Prelats are mute, and yet injoy that wealth that would furniſh all thoſe darke places with able ſupply, and yet they eat, and yet they live at the rate of Earles, and yet hoard up. They who chaſe away all the faithfull Shepheards of the flocke, and bring in a dearth of ſpirituall food, robbing thereby the Church of her dearest treaſure, and ſending heards of ſouls ſtarvling to Hell, while they feaſt and riot upon the labours of hireling Curats, conſuming and purloyning even that which by their foundation is allow'd, and left to the poore, and to reparations of the Church. Theſe are they who have bound the land with the ſinne of Sacrilege, from which mortall ingagement wee ſhall never be free, till wee have totally remov'd with one labour as one individuall thing Prelaty and Sacrilege. And herein will the King be a true defender of the Faith, not by paring or leſſn-

ing, but by diſtributing in due proportion the maintenance of the Church, that all parts of the Land may equally partake the plentifull and diligent preaching of the faith, the ſcandall of Ceremonies thrown out, that delude and circumvent the faith. And the uſurpation of Prelats laid levell, who are in words the Fathers, but in their deeds the oppugners of the faith. This is that which will beſt confirme him in that glorious title. Thus yee have heard, Readers, how many ſhifts and wiles the Prelats have invented to ſave their ill got booty. And if it be true, as in Scripture it is foretold, that pride and covetouſneſſe are the ſure markes of thoſe falſe Prophets which are to come, then boldly conclude theſe to bee as great ſeducers, as any of the latter times. For betweene this and the judgement day, doe not looke for any arch deceavers who in ſpight of reformation will uſe more craft, or leſſe ſhame to defend their love of the world, and their ambition, then theſe Prelats have done. And if yee thinke that ſoundneſſe of reaſon, or what force of argument ſoever, will bring them to an ingenuous ſilence, yee think that which will never be. But if ye take that courſe which *Eraſmus* was wont to ſay *Luther* tooke againſt the Pope and Monks, if yee denounce warre againſt their Miters and their bellies, ye ſhall ſoon diſcerne that *Turbant* of pride which they weare upon their heads to be no *helmet of ſalvation*, but the meere mettle and horn-work of Papall juriſdiction; and that they have alſo this guift, like a certaine kinde of ſome that are poſſeſt, to have their voice in their bellies, which being well drain'd and taken downe, their great Oracle, which is only there, will ſoone be dumbe, and the *Divine right of Epiſcopacy* forthwith expiring, will put us no more to trouble with tedious antiquities and diſputes.

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ

In Anſwer to a Book Intitl'd

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,

The PORTRATURE of his Sacred MAJESTY in his *Solitudes* and *Sufferings*.

PROV. 28. 15, 16, 17.

15. *As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Beare, ſo is a wicked Ruler over the poor people.*

16. *The Prince that wanteth underſtanding, is alſo a great oppreſſor; but he that hateth covetouſneſſe ſhall prolong his dayes.*

17. *A man that doth violence to the blood of any perſon, ſhall fly to the pit, let no man ſtay him.*

Saluſt. Conjurat. Catilin.

Regium imperium, quod initio, conſervandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipub. cauſâ fuerat, in ſuperbiam, dominationemque ſe convertit.

Regibus boni, quam mali, ſuſpectiores ſunt; ſemperque his aliena virtus formidoloſa eſt.

Quidlibet impunè facere, hoc ſcilicet regium eſt.

The Preface.

TO deſcant on the misfortunes of a Perſon fall'n from ſo high a dignity, who hath alſo payd his finall debt both to Nature and his Faults, is neither of it ſelfe a thing commendable, nor the intention of this diſcourſe. Neither was it fond ambition, or the vanity to get a Name, preſent, or with Poſterity, by writing againſt a King: I never was ſo thirſty after Fame, nor ſo deſtitute of other hopes and means, better and more certaine to attaine it. For Kings have gain'd glorious Titles from their Favorers by writing againſt private men, as *Henry* the 8th did againſt *Luther;* but no man ever gain'd much honour by writing againſt a King, as not uſually meeting with that force of Argument in ſuch Courtly *Antagoniſts*, which to convince might add to his reputation. Kings moſt commonly, though ſtrong in Legions, are but weak at Arguments; as they who ever have accuſtom'd from the Cradle to uſe thir will onely as thir right hand, thir reaſon alwayes as thir left. Whence unexpectedly conſtrain'd to that kind of combat, they prove but weak and puny Adverſaries. Nevertheleſs for their ſakes who through cuſtome, ſimplicitie, or want of better teaching, have not more ſeriouſly conſiderd Kings, then in the gaudy name of Majeſty, and admire them and thir doings, as if they breath'd not the ſame breath with other

mortall men, I ſhall make no ſcruple to take up (for it ſeemes to be the challenge both of him and all his party) to take up this Gauntlet, though a Kings, in the behalfe of Libertie, and the Common-wealth.

And furder, ſince it appeares manifeſtly the cunning drift of a factious and defeated Party, to make the ſame advantage of his Book, which they did before of his Regall name and Authority, and intend it not ſo much the defence of his former actions, as the promoting of thir owne future deſignes; making thereby the Book thir own rather then the Kings, as the benefit now muſt be thir own more then his, now the third time to corrupt and diſorder the minds of weaker men, by new ſuggeſtions and narrations, either falſly or fallaciouſly repreſenting the ſtate of things, to the diſhonour of this preſent Goverment, and the retarding of a generall peace, ſo needfull to this afflicted Nation, and ſo nigh obtain'd, I ſuppoſe is no injurie to the dead, but a good deed rather to the living, if by better information giv'n them, or, which is anough, by onely remembring them the truth of what they themſelves know to be heer miſs-affirmd, they may be kept from entring the third time unadviſedly into Warr and bloodſhed. For as to any moment of ſolidity in the Book it ſelfe, ſtuft with naught els but the common grounds of Tyranny and Popery, ſugard a little over; or any need of anſwering, in reſpect of ſtaid and well-principl'd men, I take it on me as a work aſſign'd rather, then by me chos'n or affected. Which was the cauſe both of beginning it ſo late, and finiſhing it ſo leaſurely, in the midſt of other imployments and diverſions. And if the late King had thought ſufficient thoſe Anſwers and Defences made for him in his life time, they who on the other ſide accus'd his evill Government, judging that on their behalfe anough alſo hath bin reply'd, the heat of this controverſie was in

likelyhood drawing to an end; and the furder mention of his deeds, not ſo much unfortunate as faulty, had in tenderneſs to his late ſufferings, bin willingly forborn; and perhaps for the preſent age might have ſlept with him unrepeated; while his Adverſaries, calm'd and aſſwag'd with the ſucceſs of thir cauſe, had bin the leſs unfavorable to his memory. But ſince he himſelfe, making new appeale to Truth and the World, hath left behind him this Book as the beſt advocate and interpreter of his owne actions, and that his Friends by publiſhing, diſperſing, commending, and almoſt adoring it, ſeem to place therein the chiefe ſtrength and nerves of thir cauſe, it would argue doubtleſs in the other party great deficience and diſtruſt of themſelves, not to meet the force of his reaſon in any field whatſoever, the force and equipage of whoſe Armes they have ſo oft'n met victoriouſly. And he who at the Barr ſtood excepting againſt the forme and manner of his Judicature, and complain'd that he was not heard, neither he nor his Friends ſhall have that cauſe now to find fault; being mett and debated with in this op'n and monumental Court of his owne erecting; and not onely heard uttering his whole mind at large, but anſwerd. Which to doe effectually, if it be neceſſary that to his Book nothing the more reſpect be had for being his, they of his owne Party can have no juſt reaſon to exclaime. For it were too unreaſonable that he, becauſe dead, ſhould have the liberty in his Booke to ſpeake all evill of the Parlament; and they, becauſe living, ſhould be expected to have leſs freedome, or any for them, to ſpeake home the plaine truth of a full and pertinent reply. As he, to acquitt himſelfe, hath not ſpar'd his Adverſaries, to load them with all ſorts of blame and accuſation, ſo to him, as in his Book alive, there will be us'd no more Courtſhip then he uſes; but what is properly

his owne guilt, not imputed any more to his evill Counſellors (a Ceremony us'd longer by the Parlament then hee himſelfe deſir'd) ſhall be layd heer without circumlocutions at his owne dore. That they who from the firſt beginning, or but now of late, by what unhappineſs I know not, are ſo much affatuated, not with his perſon only, but with his palpable faults, and dote upon his deformities, may have none to blame but thir owne folly, if they live and dye in ſuch a ſtrook'n blindneſs, as next to that of *Sodom* hath not happ'nd to any ſort of men more groſs, or more miſleading.

Firſt then that ſome men (whether this were by him intended or by his Friends,) have by policy accompliſh'd after death that revenge upon thir Enemies, which in life they were not able, hath bin oft related. And among other examples wee find that the laſt Will of *Cæſar* being read to the people, and what bounteous Legacies he had bequeath'd them, wrought more in that Vulgar audience to the avenging of his death, then all the art he could ever uſe, to win thir favor in his lifetime. And how much their intent, who publiſh'd theſe overlate Apologies and Meditations of the dead King, drives to the ſame end of ſtirring up the people to bring him that honour, that affection, and by conſequence, that revenge to his dead Corps, which he himſelfe living could never gain to his Perſon, it appeares both by the conceited portraiture before his Book, drawn out to the full meaſure of a Maſking Scene, and ſett there to catch fools and ſilly gazers, and by thoſe Latin words after the end, *Vota dabunt quæ Bella negarunt*, intimating, that what hee could not compaſs by Warr, hee ſhould atchieve by his Meditations. For in words which admitt of various ſence, the libertie is ours to chooſe that interpretation which may beſt mind us of what our reſtleſs enemies en-

deavor, and what we are timely to prevent. And heer may be well obſerv'd the looſe and negligent curioſity of thoſe who took upon them to adorn the ſetting out of this Booke: for though the Picture ſett in Front would Martyr him and Saint him to beſoole the people, yet the Latin Motto in the end, which they underſtand not, leaves him, as it were, a politic contriver to bring about that intereſt by faire and plauſible words, which the force of Armes deny'd him. But quaint Emblems and devices begg'd from the olde Pageantry of ſome Twelfe-nights entertainment at *Whitehall*, will doe but ill to make a Saint or Martyr: and if the People reſolve to take him Sainted at the rate of ſuch a Canonizing, I ſhall ſuſpect their Calendar more then the *Gregorian*. In one thing I muſt commend his op'nneſs who gave the Title to this Book, Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, that is to ſay, The Kings Image; and by the Shrine he dreſſes out for him, certainly, would have the people come and worſhip him. For which reaſon this Anſwer alſo is intitl'd *Iconoclaſtes*, the famous Surname of many Greek Emperors, who in thir zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of Idolatry in the Church, tooke courage and broke all ſuperſtitious Images to peeces. But the people, exorbitant and exceſſive in all thir motions, are prone ofttimes not to a religious onely, but to a civil kind of Idolatry in Idolizing thir Kings; though never more miſtak'n in the object of thir worſhip; heretofore being wont to repute for Saints, thoſe faithfull and courageous Barons, who loſt thir lives in the Field, making glorious Warr againſt Tyrants for the common Liberty; as *Simon de Momfort*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, againſt *Henry* the third; *Thomas Plantagenet* Earle of *Lancaſter*, againſt *Edward* the ſecond. But now with a beſotted and degenerate baſeneſs of ſpirit, except ſome few, who yet retaine in them the old

Engliſh fortitude and love of freedome, and have teſtifi'd it by thir matchleſs deeds, the reſt imbaſtardiz'd from the ancient nobleneſs of thir Anceſtors, are ready to fall flatt and give adoration to the Image and memory of this Man, who hath offer'd at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties and putt Tyranny into an Art, then any Brittiſh King before him. Which low dejection and debaſement of mind in the people, I muſt confeſs I cannot willingly aſcribe to the naturall diſpoſition of an Engliſhman, but rather to two other cauſes. Firſt to the Prelats and thir fellow-teachers, though of another Name and Sect, whoſe Pulpit-ſtuffe, both firſt and laſt, hath bin the Doctrin and perpetuall infuſion of ſervility and wretchedneſs to all thir hearers; and thir lives the type of worldlineſs and hypocriſie, without the leaſt true pattern of vertue, righteouſneſs, or ſelfe-denyall in thir whole practice. I attribute it next to the factious inclination of moſt men divided from the public by ſeverall ends and humors of thir owne. At firſt no man leſs belov'd, no man more generally condemn'd then was the King; from the time that it became his cuſtom to breake Parlaments at home, and either wilfully or weakly to betray Proteſtants abroad, to the beginning of theſe Combuſtions. All men inveigh'd againſt him, all men, except Court-vaſſals, oppos'd him and his Tyrannicall proceedings; the cry was univerſall; and this full Parlament was at firſt unanimous in thir diſlike and Proteſtation againſt his evill Goverment. But when they who ſought themſelves and not the Public, began to doubt that all of them could not by one and the ſame way attain to thir ambitious purpoſes, then was the King, or his Name at leaſt, as a fit property, firſt made uſe of, his doings made the beſt of, and by degrees juſtifi'd: Which begot him ſuch a party, as after many wiles and ſtruglings with

his inward feares, imbold'n'd him at length to ſett up his Standard againſt the Parlament. When as before that time, all his adherents, conſiſting moſt of diſſolute ſwordmen and Suburb royſters, hardly mounted to the making up of one ragged regiment strong anough to aſſault the unarmed houſe of Commons. After which attempt ſeconded by a tedious and bloody warr on his ſubjects, wherein he hath ſo farr exceeded thoſe his arbitrary violences in time of peace, they who before hated him for his high miſgoverment, nay, fought againſt him with diſplay'd banners in the feild, now applaud him and extoll him for the wiſeſt and moſt religious Prince that liv'd. By ſo ſtrange a method amongſt the mad multitude is a ſudden reputation won, of wiſdome by wilfullneſs and ſuttle ſhifts, of goodneſs by multiplying evill, of pietie by endeavouring to root out true religion.

But it is evident that the cheife of his adherents never lov'd him, never honourd either him or his cauſe, but as they took him to ſet a face upon thir own malignant deſignes, nor bemoan his loſs at all, but the loſs of their own aſpiring hopes: Like thoſe captive women whome the Poet notes in his *Iliad*, to have bewaild the death of *Patroclus* in outward ſhow, but indeed their own condition.

Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη.
Hom. Iliad. τ.

And it needs muſt be ridiculous to any judgement uninthrall'd, that they who in other matters expreſs ſo little feare either of God or man, ſhould in this one particular outſtripp all preciſianiſm with thir ſcruples and caſes, and fill mens ears continually with the noiſe of their conſcientious loyaltie and Allegeance to the King, Rebels in the mean while to God in all thir actions beſide: much leſs that they whoſe profeſs'd Loyalty and Allegeance led them to

direct Armes againſt the Kings Perſon, and thought him nothing violated by the Sword of Hoſtility drawn by them againſt him, ſhould now in earneſt thinke him violated by the unſparing Sword of Juſtice, which undoubtedly ſo much the leſs in vaine ſhee beares among Men, by how much greater and in higheſt place the offender. Els Juſtice, whether moral or politicall, were not Juſtice, but a fals counterfet of that impartial and Godlike vertue. The onely griefe is, that the head was not ſtrook off to the beſt advantage and commodity of them that held it by the haire: Which obſervation, though made by a Common Enemie, may for the truth of it heere after become a Proverb. But as to the Author of theſe Soliloquies, whether it were the late King, as is Vulgarly beleev'd, or any ſecret *Coadjutor*, and ſome ſtick not to name him, it can add nothing, nor ſhall take from the weight, if any be, of reaſon which he brings. But allegations, not reaſons are the maine Contents of this Book; and need no more then other contrary allegations to lay the queſtion before all Men in an eev'n ballance; though it were ſuppos'd that the Teſtimony of one man in his own cauſe affirming, could be of any moment to bring in doubt the autority of a Parlament denying. But if theſe his faire ſpok'n words ſhall be heer fairely confronted and laid parallel to his own farr differing deeds, manifeſt and viſible to the whole Nation, then ſurely we may look on them who notwithſtanding ſhall perſiſt to give to bare words more credit then to op'n deeds, as men whoſe judgement was not rationally evinc'd and perſwaded, but fatally ſtupifi'd and bewitchd, into ſuch a blind and obſtinate beleefe. For whoſe cure it may be doubted, not whether any charme, though never ſo wiſely murmur'd, but whether any prayer can be available.

ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ.

Upon the Kings calling this laſt Parlament.

THat which the King laies down heer as his firſt foundation, and as it were the head ſtone of his whole Structure, that *He call'd this laſt Parlament not more by others advice and the neceſſity of his affaires, then by his own chois and inclination,* is to all knowing men ſo apparently not true, that a more unlucky and inauſpicious ſentence, and more betok'ning the downfall of his whole Fabric, hardly could have come into his minde. For who knows not that the inclination of a Prince is beſt known either by thoſe next about him, and moſt in favor with him, or by the current of his own actions. Thoſe neereſt to this King and moſt his Favorites, were Courtiers and Prelates; men whoſe chief ſtudy was to finde out which way the King inclin'd, and to imitate him exactly. How theſe men ſtood affected to Parlaments, cannot be forgott'n. No man but may remember it was thir continuall exerciſe to diſpute and Preach againſt them; and in thir common diſcourſe nothing was more frequent, then that *they hoped the King ſhould now have no need of Parlaments any more.* And this was but the copy which his Paraſites had induſtriouſly tak'n from his own words and actions, who never call'd a Parlament but to ſupply his neceſſities; and having ſupply'd thoſe, as ſuddenly and ignomi-

niouſly diſſolv'd it, without redreſſing any one greevance of the people. Somtimes chooſing rather to miſs of his Subſidies, or to raiſe them by illegal courſes, then that the people ſhould not ſtill miſs of thir hopes, to be releiv'd by Parlaments.

The firſt he broke off at his comming to the Crown; for no other cauſe then to protect the Duke of *Buckingham* againſt them who had accus'd him, beſides other hainous crimes, of no leſs then poyſoning the deceaſed King his Father. And ſtill the latter breaking was with more affront and indignity put upon the Houſe and her worthieſt Members, then the former. Inſomuch that in the fifth yeare of his Raigne, in a Proclamation he ſeemes offended at the very rumor of a Parlament divulg'd among the people: as if hee had tak'n it for a kind of ſlander, that men ſhould think him that way exorable, much leſs inclin'd: and forbidds it as a preſumption to preſcribe him any time for Parlaments; that is to ſay, either by perſwaſion or Petition, or ſo much as the reporting of ſuch a rumor; for other manner of preſcribing was at that time not ſuſpected. By which feirce Edict, the people, forbidd'n to complaine, as well as forc'd to ſuffer, began from thenceforth to diſpaire of Parlaments. Whereupon ſuch illegal actions, and eſpecially to get vaſt ſumms of Money, were put in practiſe by the King and his new Officers, as Monopolies, compulſive Knighthoods, Cote, Conduct and Ship-mony, the ſeizing not of one *Naboths* Vineyard, but of whole Inheritances under the pretence of Forreſt, or Crown-Lands, corruption and Bribery compounded for, with impunities granted for the future, as gave evident proof that the King never meant, nor could it ſtand with the reaſon of his affaires, ever to recall Parlaments; having brought by theſe irregular courſes the peoples intereſt, and his own to ſo direct an oppoſition, that he might foreſee

plainely, if nothing but a Parlament could ſave the people, it muſt neceſſarily bee his undoing.

Till eight or nine years after, proceeding with a high hand in theſe enormities, and having the ſecond time levied an injurious Warr againſt his native Countrie *Scotland*, and finding all thoſe other ſhifts of raiſing Mony, which bore out his firſt expedition, now to faile him, not *of his own choiſe and inclination*, as any Child may ſee, but urg'd by ſtrong neceſſities, and the very pangs of State which his owne violent proceedings had brought him to, hee calls a Parlament; firſt in *Ireland*, which onely was to give him four Subſidies, and ſo to expire; then in *England*, where his firſt demand was but twelve Subſidies, to maintaine a Scotch Warr, condemn'd and abominated by the whole Kingdom; promiſing thir greevances ſhould be conſider'd afterwards. Which when the Parlament, who judg'd that Warr it ſelf one of thir main greevances, made no haſt to grant, not enduring the delay of his impatient will, or els fearing the conditions of thir grant, he breakes off the whole Seſſion, and diſmiſſes them and thir greevances with ſcorn and fruſtration.

Much leſs therfore did hee call this laſt Parlament by his own chois and inclination; but having firſt try'd in vaine all undue ways to procure Mony, his Army of thir own accord being beat'n in the North, the Lords Petitioning, and the generall voice of the people, almoſt hiſſing him and his ill-acted regalitie off the Stage, compell'd at length both by his wants, and by his feares, upon meer extremitie he ſummond this laſt Parlament. And how is it poſſible that hee ſhould willingly incline to Parlaments, who never was perceiv'd to call them but for the greedy hope of a whole National Bribe, his Subſidies, and never lov'd, never fulfill'd, never promoted the true end of Parlaments, the redreſs of greevances, but ſtill put

them off, and prolong'd them, whether gratify'd or not gratify'd; and was indeed the Author of all those greevances. To say therfore that he call'd this Parlament of his own chois and inclination, argues how little truth wee can expect from the sequel of this Book, which ventures in the very first period to affront more then one Nation with an untruth so remarkable; and presumes a more implicit Faith in the people of *England*, then the Pope ever commanded from the Romish Laitie; or els a natural sottishness fitt to be abus'd and ridd'n. While in the judgement of wise Men, by laying the foundation of his defence on the avouchment of that which is so manifestly untrue, he hath giv'n a worse foile to his own cause, then when his whole Forces were at any time overthrown. They therfore who think such great Service don to the Kings affaires in publishing this Book, will find themselves in the end mistak'n: if sense and right mind, or but any mediocritie of knowledge and remembrance, hath not quite forsak'n men.

But to prove his inclination to Parlaments, he affirmes heer *To have alwayes thought the right way of them, most safe for his Crown, and best pleasing to his People.* What he thought we know not; but that he ever took the contrary way wee saw; and from his own actions we felt long agoe what hee thought of Parlaments or of pleasing his People: a surer evidence then what we heare now too late in words.

He alleges, that *the cause of forbearing to convene Parlaments was the sparkes which some mens distempers there studied to kindle.* They were indeed not temper'd to his temper; for it neither was the Law, nor the rule by which all other tempers were to bee try'd; but they were esteem'd and chos'n for the fittest men in thir severall Counties, to allay and quench those distempers which his own inordinate

ɔings had inflam'd. And if that were his refusing ı *convene*, till those men had bin qualifi'd to his mper, that is to say, his will, we may easily con- cture what hope ther was of Parlaments, had not are and his insatiat povertie in the midst of his ex- ssive wealth constrain'd him.

Hee hoped by his freedom, and their moderation to event misunderstandings. And wherefore not by ıeir freedom and his moderation? But freedom he ıought too high a word for them; and moderation o mean a word for himself: this was not the way ı prevent misunderstandings. He still *feard passion ıd prejudice in other men;* not in himself: *and doubted ıt by the weight of his* own *reason, to counterpoyse any action;* it being so easie for him, and so frequent, ı call his obstinacy reason, and other mens reason, action. Wee in the mean while must beleive, that isdom and all reason came to him, by Title, with is Crowne; passion, prejudice, and Faction, came ɔ others by being Subjects.

He was sorry to heare with what popular heat Elec- ions were carri'd in many places. Sorry rather that Court Letters, and intimations prevail'd no more, to livert, or to deterr the people from thir free Election of those men, whom they thought best affected to Religion, and thir Countries Libertie, both at that ime in danger to be lost. And such men they were ıs by the Kingdom were sent to advise him, not sent o be cavill'd at, because Elected, or to be entertaind ɔy him with an undervalue and misprision of thir emper, judgement, or affection. In vaine was a Parlament thought fittest by the known Laws of our Nation, to advise and regulate unruly Kings, if they, n stead of hearkning to advice, should be permitted o turn it off, and refuse it by vilifying and traducing hir advisers, or by accusing of a popular heat those hat lawfully elected them.

His own and his Childrens interest oblig'd him to seek and to preserve the love and welfare of his Subjects. Who doubts it? But the same interest, common to all Kings, was never yet available to make them all seek that, which was indeed best for themselves and thir Posteritie. All men by thir own and thir Childrens interest are oblig'd to honestie and justice: but how little that consideration works in private men, how much less in Kings, thir deeds declare best.

He intended to oblige both Friends and Enemies, and to exceed thir desires, did they but pretend to any modest and sober sence; mistaking the whole busines of a Parlament. Which mett not to receive from him obligations, but Justice; nor hee to expect from them thir modesty, but thir grave advice, utter'd with freedom in the public cause. His talk of modesty in thir desires of the common welfare, argues him not much to have understood what he had to grant, who misconceav'd so much the nature of what they had to desire. And for *sober sense* the expression was too mean; and recoiles with as much dishonour upon himselfe, to be a King where sober sense could possibly be so wanting in a Parlament.

The odium and offences which some mens rigour, or remissnes in Church and State had contracted upon his Goverment, hee resolved to have expiated with better Laws and regulations, And yet the worst of missdemeanors committed by the worst of all his favourites, in the hight of thir dominion, whether acts of rigor or remissnes, he hath from time to time continu'd, own'd, and tak'n upon himself by public Declarations, as oft'n as the Clergie, or any other of his Instruments felt themselves overburd'n'd with the peoples hatred. And who knows not the superstitious rigor of his Sundays Chappel, and the licentious remissnes of his Sundays Theater; accompa-

nied with that reverend Statute for *Dominical* Jigs and Maypoles, publiſht in his own Name, and deriv'd from the example of his Father *James*. Which teſtifies all that rigor in ſuperſtition, all that remiſſneſs in Religion to have iſſu'd out originally from his own Houſe, and from his own Autority. Much rather then may thoſe generall miſcarriages in State, his proper Sphear, be imputed to no other perſon chiefly then to himſelf. And which of all thoſe oppreſſive Acts, or Impoſitions did he ever diſclaime or diſavow, till the fatal aw of this Parlament hung ominouſly over him. Yet heer hee ſmoothly ſeeks to wipe off all the envy of his evill Goverment upon his Subſtitutes, and under Officers: and promiſes, though much too late, what wonders he purpos'd to have don in the reforming of Religion; a work wherein all his undertakings heretofore declare him to have had little or no judgement. Neither could his Breeding, or his cours of life acquaint him with a thing ſo Spiritual. Which may well aſſure us what kind of Reformation we could expect from him; either ſom politic form of an impos'd Religion, or els perpetual vexation, and perſecution to all thoſe that comply'd not with ſuch a form. The like amendment he promiſes in State; not a ſtepp furder *then his Reaſon and Conſcience told him was fitt to bee deſir'd;* wiſhing *hee had kept within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffer'd his own judgement to have bin over-borne in ſome things,* of which things one was the Earle of *Straffords* execution. And what ſignifies all this, but that ſtill his reſolution was the ſame, to ſet up an arbitrary Goverment of his own; and that all Britain was to be ty'd and chain'd to the conſcience, judgement, and reaſon, of one Man; as if thoſe gifts had bin only his peculiar and Prerogative, intail'd upon him with his fortune to be a King. When as doubtleſs no man ſo obſtinate, or ſo much

a Tyrant, but profeſſes to be guided by that which he calls his Reaſon, and his Judgement, though never ſo corrupted; and pretends alſo his conſcience. In the mean while, for any Parlament or the whole Nation to have either reaſon, judgement, or conſcience, by this rule was altogether in vaine, if it thwarted the Kings will; which was eaſie for him to call by any other more plauſible name. And thus we find theſe faire and ſpecious promiſes, made upon the experience of many hard ſufferings, and his moſt mortifi'd retirements, being throughly ſifted, to containe nothing in them much different from his former practices, ſo croſs, and ſo averſe to all his Parlaments, and both the Nations of this Iland. What fruits they could in likelyhood have produc'd in his reſtorement, is obvious to any prudent foreſight.

And this is the ſubſtance of his firſt Section, till wee come to the devout of it, model'd into the form of a privat Pſalter. Which they who ſo much admire either for the matter or the manner, may as well admire the Arch-Biſhops late Breviary, and many other as good *Manuals*, and *Handmaids of Devotion*, the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgiſt, clapt together, and quilted out of Scripture phraſe, with as much eaſe, and as little need of Chriſtian diligence, or judgement, as belongs to the compiling of any ordnary and ſalable peece of Engliſh Divinity, that the Shops value. But he who from ſuch a kind of Pſalmiſtry, or any other verbal Devotion, without the pledge and earneſt of ſutable deeds, can be perſwaded of a zeale, and true righteouſneſs in the perſon, hath much yet to learn; and knows not that the deepeſt policy of a Tyrant hath bin ever to counterfet Religious. And *Ariſtotle* in his Politics, hath mentiond that ſpecial craft among twelve other tyrannical *Sophiſms*. Neither want wee examples. *Andronicus Comnenus* the *Byzantine* Em-

ero, though a moſt cruel Tyrant, is reported by *Vicetas* to have bin a conſtant reader of Saint *Pauls* Epiſtles; and by continual ſtudy had ſo incorporated he phraſe and ſtile of that tranſcendent Apoſtle into ll his familiar Letters, that the imitation ſeem'd to ie with the Original. Yet this availd not to deeave the people of that Empire; who notwithſtandng his Saints vizard, tore him to peeces for his Tyranny. From Stories of this nature both Ancient nd Modern which abound, the Poets alſo, and ſom Engliſh, have bin in this point ſo mindfull of *Deorum*, as to put never more pious words in the nouth of any perſon, then of a Tyrant. I ſhall not nſtance an abſtruſe Author, wherein the King might e leſs converſant, but one whom wee well know vas the Cloſet Companion of theſe his ſolitudes, *William Shakeſpeare;* who introduces the Perſon of *Richard* the third, ſpeaking in as high a ſtrain of ietie, and mortification, as is utterd in any paſſage f this Book; and ſometimes to the ſame ſenſe and urpoſe with ſome words in this place, *I intended,* aith he, *not onely to oblige my Freinds, but mine Enenies.* The like ſaith *Richard, Act.* 2. *Scen.* 1.

I doe not know that Engliſhman alive,
With whom my ſoule is any jott at odds,
More then the Infant that is borne to night;
I thank my God for my humilitie.

Other ſtuff of this ſort may be read throughout he whole Tragedie, wherein the Poet us'd not much icence in departing from the truth of Hiſtory, which lelivers him a deep diſſembler, not of his affections nely, but of Religion.

In Praying therefore, and in the outward work of Devotion, this King wee ſee hath not at all exceeded he worſt of Kings before him. But herein the worſt f Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianiſm, have by farr ex-

ceeded him. They, for ought we know, have ſtill pray'd thir own, or at leaſt borrow'd from ſitt Authors. But this King, not content with that which, although in a thing holy, is no holy theft, to attribute to his own making other mens whole Prayers, hath as it were unhallow'd, and unchriſt'nd the very duty of Prayer it ſelf, by borrowing to a Chriſtian uſe Prayers offerd to a Heathen God. Who would have imagin'd ſo little feare in him of the true all-ſeeing Deitie, ſo little reverence of the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe office is to dictat and preſent our Chriſtian Prayers, ſo little care of truth in his laſt words, or honour to himſelf, or to his Friends, or ſenſe of his afflictions, or of that ſad hower which was upon him, as immediatly before his death to popp into the hand of that grave Biſhop who attended him, as a ſpecial Relique of his Saintly exerciſes, a Prayer ſtol'n word for word from the mouth of a Heathen Woman praying to a Heathen God; and that in no ſerious Book, but in the vaine amatorious Poem of Sir *Philip Sidneys Arcadia;* a Book in that kinde full of worth and witt, but among religious thoughts, and duties not worthy to be nam'd; nor to be read at any time without good caution; much leſs in time of trouble and affliction to be a Chriſtians Prayer-Book. It hardly can be thought upon without ſom laughter, that he who had acted over us ſo ſtately and ſo Tragically, ſhould leave the World at laſt with ſuch a ridiculous exit, as to bequeath among his deifying friends that ſtood about him, ſuch a peece of mockery to be publiſht by them, as muſt needs cover both his and their heads with ſhame and confuſion. And ſure it was the hand of God that lett them fall and be tak'n in ſuch a fooliſh Trapp, as hath expos'd them to all deriſion, if for nothing els, to throw contempt and diſgrace in the ſight of all Men upon this his Idoliz'd Book, and

the whole rosarie of his Prayers; thereby testifying how little he accepted them from those who thought no better of the living God, then of a Buzzard Idol, that would be serv'd and worshipt with the polluted trash of Romances and *Arcadias*, without discerning the affront so irreligiously and so boldly offerd him to his face.

Thus much be said in general to his Prayers; and in special to that Arcadian Prayer us'd in his Captivity; anough to undeceive us what esteem we are to set upon the rest.

And thus farr in the whole Chapter wee have seen and consider'd, and it cannot but be cleer to all men, how, and for what ends, what concernments, and necessities the late King was no way induc'd, but every way constrain'd to call this last Parlament; yet heer in his first Prayer he trembles not to avouch as in the eares of God, *That he did it with an upright intention, to his glory, and his peoples good:* Of which dreadfull attestation how sincerely meant, God, to whom it was avow'd, can onely judge; and he hath judg'd already; and hath writt'n his impartial Sentence in Characters legible to all Christ'ndome; and besides hath taught us, that there be som, whom he hath giv'n over to delusion; whose very mind and conscience is defil'd; of whom Saint *Paul* to *Titus* makes mention.

II. *Upon the Earle of Straffords Death.*

THis next Chapter is a penitent confession of the King, and the strangest, if it be well weigh'd, that ever was Auricular. For hee repents heer of giving his consent, though most unwillingly, to the most seasonable and solemn peece of Justice, that had bin don of many

yeares in the Land: But his ſole conſcience thought the contrary. And thus was the welfare, the ſafety, and within a little, the unanimous demand of three populous Nations to have attended ſtill on the ſingularity of one Mans opinionated conſcience; if men had always bin ſo tame and ſpiritleſs; and had not unexpectedly found the grace to underſtand, that if his conſcience were ſo narrow and peculiar to it ſelfe, it was not fitt his Autority ſhould be ſo ample and Univerſall over others. For certainly a private conſcience ſorts not with a public Calling; but declares that Perſon rather meant by nature for a private fortune. And this alſo we may take for truth, that hee whoſe conſcience thinks it ſin to put to death a capital Offendor, will as oft think it meritorious to kill a righteous Perſon. But let us heare what the ſin was that lay ſo ſore upon him, and, as his Prayer giv'n to Dr. *Juxton* teſtifies, to the very day of his death; it was his ſigning the Bill of *Straffords* execution: a man whom all men look'd upon as one of the boldeſt and moſt impetuous inſtruments that the King had to advance any violent or illegal deſigne. He had rul'd *Ireland*, and ſom parts of *England* in an Arbitrary manner, had indeavour'd to ſubvert fundamental Lawes, to ſubvert Parlaments, and to incenſe the King againſt them; he had alſo endeavour'd to make Hoſtility betweene *England* and *Scotland:* He had counſeld the King to call over that Iriſh Army of Papiſts, which he had cunningly rais'd, to reduce *England*, as appear'd by good Teſtimony then preſent at the Conſultation. For which, and many other crimes alleg'd and prov'd againſt him in 28. Articles, he was condemnd of high Treaſon by the Parlament. The Commons by farr the greater number caſt him; the Lords, after they had bin ſatisfi'd in a full diſcourſe by the Kings Sollicitor, and the opinions of many Judges deliver'd in thir

Houſe, agreed likewiſe to the Sentence of Treaſon. The People univerſally cri'd out for Juſtice. None were his Friends but Courtiers, and Clergimen, the worſt at that time, and moſt corrupted ſort of men; and Court Ladies, not the beſt of Women; who when they grow to that inſolence as to appeare active in State affaires, are the certaine ſigne of a diſſolute, degenerat, and puſillanimous Common-wealth. Laſt of all the King, or rather firſt, for theſe were but his Apes, was not ſatisfi'd in conſcience to condemn him of High Treaſon; and declar'd to both Houſes, *That no fears or reſpects whatſoever ſhould make him alter that reſolution founded upon his conſcience.* Either then his reſolution was indeed not founded upon his conſcience, or his conſcience receav'd better information, or els both his conſcience and this his ſtrong reſolution ſtrook ſaile, notwithſtanding theſe glorious words, to his ſtronger fear. For within a few dayes after, when the Judges at a privie Counſel, and four of his elected Biſhops had pickd the thorn out of his conſcience, he was at length perſwaded to ſigne the Bill for *Straffords* Execution. And yet perhaps that it wrung his conſcience to condemn the *Earle* of high Treaſon is not unlikely: not becauſe he thought him guiltleſs of higheſt Treaſon, had halfe thoſe crimes bin committed againſt his own privat Intereſt or Perſon, as appear'd plainly by his charge againſt the ſix Members, but becauſe hee knew himſelf a Principal in what the *Earle* was but his acceſſory, and thought nothing Treaſon againſt the Common-wealth, but againſt himſelfe only.

Had he really ſcrupl'd to ſentence that for Treaſon which he thought not Treaſonable, why did he ſeeme reſolv'd by the Judges and the Biſhops? And if by them reſolv'd, how comes the ſcruple heer again? It was not then, as he now pretends, *The importuni-*

ties of ſome and the feare of many which made him ſigne, but the ſatisfaction giv'n him by thoſe Judges and Ghoſtly Fathers of his own chooſing. Which of him ſhall we believe? For hee ſeemes not one, but double; either heer we muſt not beleeve him profeſſing that his ſatisfaction was but ſeemingly receav'd, and out of feare, or els wee may as well beleeve that the ſcruple was no real ſcruple, as we can beleeve him heer againſt himſelfe before, that the ſatisfaction then receiv'd was no reall ſatisfaction: of ſuch a variable and fleeting conſcience what hold can be tak'n? But that indeed it was a facil conſcience, and could diſſemble ſatisfaction when it pleas'd, his own inſuing actions declar'd: being ſoon after found to have the chief hand in a moſt deteſted conſpiracy againſt the Parlament and Kingdom, as by Letters and examinations of *Percy*, *Goring*, and other Conſpiratours came to light; that his intention was to reſcue the Earle of *Strafford*, by ſeizing on the Towre of *London;* to bring up the Engliſh Army out of the North, joyn'd with eight thouſand Iriſh Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a French Army to be landed at *Portſmouth* againſt the Parlament and thir Friends. For which purpoſe the King, though requeſted by both Houſes to diſband thoſe Iriſh Papiſts, refus'd to do it, and kept them ſtill in Armes to his own purpoſes. No marvel then, if being as deeply criminous as the Earle himſelfe, it ſtung his conſcience to adjudge to death thoſe miſdeeds whereof himſelfe had bin the chiefe Author: no marvel though in ſtead of blaming and deteſting his ambition, his evil Counſel, his violence and opreſſion of the people, he fall to praiſe his great *Abilities;* and with Scholaſtic flouriſhes beneath the decencie of a King, compares him to *the Sun*, which in all figurative uſe, and ſignificance beares alluſion to a King, not to a Subject: No marvel though he

nit contradictions as close as words can lye together, *ot approving in his judgement*, and yet approving in is subsequent reason all that *Strafford* did, as *driv'n y the necessity of times and the temper of that people;* or this excuses all his misdemeanors: Lastly, no narvel that he goes on building many faire and pious onclusions upon false and wicked premises, which eceave the common Reader not well discerning the ntipathy of such connexions: but this is the mar-el, and may be the astonishment of all that have a onscience, how he durst in the sight of God (and rith the same words of contrition wherwith *David* epents the murdering of *Uriah*) repent his lawfull ompliance to that just act of not saving him, whom e ought to have deliver'd up to speedy punishment; nough himselfe the guiltier of the two. If the eed were so sinfull to have put to death so great a Malefactor, it would have tak'n much doutless from ne heavinesse of his sin, to have told God in his con-ession, how he labour'd, what dark plots hee had ontriv'd, into what a league enterd, and with what Conspirators against his Parlament and Kingdomes, have rescu'd from the claime of Justice so notable nd so deare an Instrument of Tyranny. Which ould have bin a story, no doubt as pleasing in the ares of Heav'n, as all these equivocal repentances. or it was feare, and nothing els which made him ine before both the scruple and the satisfaction of is conscience, that is to say, of his mind: his first are pretended conscience that he might be born rith to refuse signing; his latter feare being more rgent made him find a conscience both to signe and be satisfy'd. As for repentance it came not on im till a long time after; when he saw *he could have ffer'd nothing more, though he had deny'd that Bill.* or how could he understandingly repent of letting nat be Treason which the Parlament and whole

Nation ſo judg'd? This was that which repented him, to have giv'n up to juſt puniſhment ſo ſtout a Champion of his deſignes, who might have bin ſo uſefull to him in his following civil Broiles. It was a worldly repentance not a conſcientious; or els it was a ſtrange Tyranny which his conſcience had got over him, to vex him like an evil ſpirit for doing one act of Juſtice, and by that means to *fortifie his reſolution* from ever doing ſo any more. That mind muſt needs be irrecoverably deprav'd, which either by chance or importunity taſting but once of one juſt deed, ſpatters at it, and abhorrs the reliſh ever after. To the Scribes and Phariſees, woe was denounc'd by our Saviour, for ſtraining at a Gnatt and ſwallowing a Camel; though a Gnat were to be ſtraind at: But to a conſcience with whom one good deed is ſo hard to paſs down, as to endanger almoſt a choaking, and bad deeds without number though as bigg and bulkie as the ruine of three Kingdomes, goe down currently without ſtraining, certainely a farr greater woe appertaines. If his conſcience were come to that unnatural *dyſcraſie*, as to digeſt poyſon and to keck at wholeſom food, it was not for the Parlament, or any of his Kingdomes to feed with him any longer. Which to conceale he would perſwade us that the Parlament alſo in their conſcience eſcap'd not *ſome touches of remorſe* for putting *Strafford* to death, in forbidding it by an *after act* to be a precedent for the future. But in a fairer conſtruction, that act impli'd rather a deſire in them to pacifie the Kings mind, whom they perceav'd by this meanes quite alienated: in the mean while not imagining that this after act ſhould be retorted on them to tie up Juſtice for the time to come upon like occaſion, whether this were made a precedent or not, no more then the want of ſuch a precedent, if it had bin wanting, had bin available to hinder this.

But how likely is it that this after act argu'd in he Parlament thir least repenting for the death of 'trafford, when it argu'd so little in the King himelfe: who notwithstanding this after act which had is own hand and concurrence, if not his own inigation, within the same yeare accus'd of high 'reason no less then six Members at once for the ıme pretended crimes which his conscience would ot yeeld to think treasonable in the Earle. So that ıis his suttle Argument to fast'n a repenting, and y that means a guiltiness of *Straffords* death upon ıe Parlament, concludes upon his own head; and ıews us plainely that either nothing in his judgeıent was Treason against the Common-wealth, but nely against the Kings Person, a tyrannical Priniple, or that his conscience was a perverse and prearicating conscience, to scruple that the Commonrealth should punish for Treasonous in one eminent ffender, that which he himselfe sought so vehenently to have punisht in six guiltless persons. If his were *that touch of conscience which he bore with reater regrett*, then for any other sin committed in ıis life, whether it were that proditory Aid sent to *Rochel* and Religion abroad, or that prodigality of hedding blood at home, to a million of his Subjects ives not valu'd in comparison of one *Strafford*, we nay consider yet at last what true sense and feeling ould be in that conscience, and what fitness to be he maister conscience of three Kingdomes.

But the reason why he labours that wee should ake notice of so much *tenderness and regrett in his ıule* for *having any hand in Straffords death*, is worth he marking ere we conclude. *He hop'd it would be ım evidence before God and Man to all posteritie that e was farr from bearing that vast load and guilt of lood* layd upon him by others. Which hath the ikeness of a suttle dissimulation; bewailing the

blood of one man, his commodious Inſtrument, put to death moſt juſtly, though by him unwillingly, that we might think him too tender to ſhed willingly the blood of thoſe thouſands, whom he counted Rebells. And thus by dipping voluntarily his fingers end, yet with ſhew of great remorſe in the blood of *Strafford*, whereof all men cleer him, he thinks to ſcape that Sea of innocent blood wherein his own guilt inevitably hath plung'd him all over. And we may well perceave to what eaſie ſatisfactions and purgations he had inur'd his ſecret conſcience, who thinks, by ſuch weak policies and oſtentations as theſe, to gaine beleife and abſolution from underſtanding Men.

III. *Upon his going to the Houſe of Commons.*

Concerning his unexcuſable, and hoſtile march from the Court to the Houſe of Commons, there needs not much be ſaid. For he confeſſes it to be an act which moſt men, whom he calls *his Enemies* cry'd ſhame upon; *indifferent men* grew *jealous of and fearfull, and many of his Friends reſented as a motion riſing rather from paſſion then reaſon:* He himſelfe, in one of his Anſwers to both Houſes, made profeſſion to be convinc'd that it was a plaine breach of thir Privilege: Yet heer like a rott'n building newly trimm'd over he repreſents it ſpeciouſly and fraudulently to impoſe upon the ſimple Reader; and ſeeks by ſmooth and ſupple words not heer only, but through his whole Book, to make ſom beneficial uſe or other eev'n of his worſt miſcarriages.

Theſe Men, ſaith he, meaning his Friends, *knew not the juſt motives and pregnant grounds with which I thought my ſelfe furniſhed;* to wit, againſt the five Members, whom hee came to dragg out of the

Houſe. His beſt Friends indeed knew not, nor could ever know his motives to ſuch a riotous act: and had he himſelfe known any juſt grounds, he was not ignorant how much it might have tended to his juſtifying, had he nam'd them in this place, and not conceal'd them. But ſuppoſe them real, ſuppoſe them known, what was this to that violation and diſhonor put upon the whole Houſe, whoſe very dore forcibly kept op'n, and all the paſſages neer it he beſett with Swords and Piſtols cockt and menac'd in the hands of about three hundred Swaggerers and Ruffians, who but expected, nay audibly call'd for the word of onſet to beginn a ſlaughter.

He had diſcover'd as he thought unlawfull correſpondencies which they had us'd and ingagements to imbroile his Kingdomes, and remembers not his own unlawfull correſpondencies, and conſpiracies with the Iriſh Army of Papiſts, with the French to land at *Portſmouth*, and his tampring both with the Engliſh and the Scotch Army, to come up againſt the Parlament: the leaſt of which attempts by whomſoever, was no leſs then manifeſt Treaſon againſt the Commonwealth.

If to demand Juſtice on the five Members were his Plea, for that which they with more reaſon might have demanded Juſtice upon him (I uſe his own Argument) *there needed not ſo rough aſſiſtance*. If hee had *reſolv'd to bear that repuls with patience*, which his Queen by her words to him at his return little thought he would have done, wherefore did he provide againſt it, with ſuch an armed and unuſual force? But his heart ſerv'd him not to undergoe the hazzard that ſuch a deſperat ſcuffle would have brought him to. But wherfore did he goe at all, it behooving him to know there were two Statutes that declar'd he ought firſt to have acquainted the Parlament, who were the Accuſers, which he re-

fus'd to doe, though ſtill profeſſing to govern by Law, and ſtill juſtifying his attempts againſt Law: And when hee ſaw it was not permitted him to attaint them but by a faire tryal, as was offerd him from time to time, for want of juſt matter which yet never came to light, he let the buſineſs fall of his own accord; and all thoſe *pregnancies*, and *juſt motives* came to juſt nothing.

He had no temptation of diſpleaſure or revenge againſt thoſe Men: None, but what he thirſted to execute upon them, for the conſtant oppoſition which they made againſt his tyrannous proceedings, and the love and reputation which they therfore had among the People.

He miſt but little to have produc'd writings under ſome mens own hands. But yet he miſt, though thir Chambers, Trunks, and Studies were ſeal'd up and ſearch'd; yet not found guiltie. *Providence would not have it ſo.* Good Providence, that curbs the raging of proud Monarchs, as well as of madd multitudes. *Yet hee wanted not ſuch probabilities* (for his pregnant is come now to probable) *as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart.* And thus his pregnant *motives* are at laſt prov'd nothing but a Tympany, or a Queen *Maries* Cuſhion: For in any Kings heart, as Kings goe now, what ſhadowie conceit, or groundleſs toy will not create a jealouſie?

That he had deſign'd to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, taking God to witneſs, he utterly denies; yet, in his Anſwer to the City, maintaines that *any courſe of violence had bin very juſtifyable.* And we may then gueſs how farr it was from his deſigne. However it diſcover'd in him an exceſſive eagerneſs to be aveng'd on them that croſs'd him; and that to have his will, he ſtood not to doe things never ſo much below him. What a becomming ſight it was to ſee the King of *England* one while in the Houſe of

Commons, by and by in the *Guild-Hall* among the Liveries and Manufactures, profecuting fo greedily the track of five or fix fled Subjects; himfelf not the Solliciter onely but the Purfivant, and the Apparitor of his own partial caufe. And although, in his Anfwers to the Parlament, hee hath confefs'd, firft that his manner of profecution was illegal, next, *that as hee once conceiv'd hee had ground anough to accufe them; fo at length that hee found as good caufe to defert any profecution of them*, yet heer he feems to reverfe all, and againft promife takes up his old deferted accufation, that he might have fomething to excufe himfelfe, in ftead of giving due reparation; which he always refus'd to give them, whom he had fo difhonor'd.

That I went, faith he of his going to the Houfe of Commons, *attended with fome Gentlemen;* Gentlemen indeed; the ragged Infantrie of Stewes and Brothels; the fpawn and fhiprack of Taverns and Dicing Houfes: and then he pleads *it was no unwonted thing for the Majefty and fafety of a King to be fo attended, efpecially in difcontented times.* An illuftrious Majeftie no doubt, fo attended: a becomming fafety for the King of *England*, plac'd in the fidelity of fuch Guards and Champions: Happy times; when Braves and Hackfters, the onely contented Members of his Goverment, were thought the fitteft and the faithfulleft to defend his Perfon againft the difcontents of a Parlament and all good Men. Were thofe the chos'n ones to *preferve reverence to him*, while he enterd *unaffur'd*, and full of fufpitions into his great and faithfull Counfel? Let God then and the World judge whether the caufe were not in his owne guilty and unwarrantable doings: The Houfe of Commons upon feveral examinations of this buifnefs declar'd it fufficiently prov'd that the comming of thofe Soldiers, Papifts, and

others with the King was to take away ſome of thir Members, and in caſe of oppoſition or denyal, to have fal'n upon the Houſe in a hoſtile manner. This the King heer denies; adding a fearful imprecatio[illegible] againſt his own life, *If he purpoſed any violence or o[illegible] preſſion againſt the Innocent, then,* ſaith he, *let t[illegible] Enemie perſecute my ſoule, and tred my life to the grou[illegible] and lay my honor in the duſt.* What need then more diſputing? He appeal'd to Gods Tribunal, and behold God hath judg'd, and don to him in the ſight of all men according to the verdict of his owne mouth. To be a warning to all Kings hereafter how they uſe preſumptuouſly the words and proteſtations of *David*, without the ſpirit and conſcience of *David*. And the Kings admirers may heer ſee thir madneſs to miſtake this Book for a monument of his worth and wiſdom, when as indeed it is his *Doomſday Booke;* not like that of *William* the *Norman* his Predeceſſor, but the record and memorial of his condemnation: and diſcovers whatever hath befal'n him, to have bin haſt'nd on from Divine Juſtice by the raſh and inconſiderat appeal of his own lipps. But what evaſions, what pretences, though never ſo unjuſt and emptie, will he refuſe in matters more unknown, and more involv'd in the miſts and intricacies of State, who, rather then not juſtifie himſelfe in a thing ſo generally odious, can flatter his integritie with ſuch frivolous excuſes againſt the manifeſt diſſent of all men, whether Enemies, Neuters, or Friends. But God and his judgements have not bin mock'd; and good men may well perceive what a diſtance there was ever like to be between him and his Parlament, and perhaps between him and all amendment, who for one good deed, though but conſented to, aſkes God forgiveneſs; and from his worſt deeds don, takes occaſion to inſiſt upon his righteouſneſs.

IV. *Upon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

WEe have heer, I must confess, a neat and well-couch'd invective against Tumults; expressing a true feare of them in the Author, but yet so handsomly compos'd, nd withall so feelingly, that, to make a Royal comarison, I beleeve *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon* could ıot have compos'd it better. Yet *Rehoboam* had nore cause to enveigh against them; for they had ton'd his Tribute-gatherer, and perhaps had as little par'd his own Person, had hee not with all speed ıetak'n him to his Charret. But this King hath tood the worst of them in his own House without anger, when his Coach and Horses, in a Panic eare, have bin to seek, which argues that the Tunults at *Whitehall* were nothing so dangerous as hose at *Sechem*.

But the matter heer considerable, is not whether he King, or his Houshold *Rhetorician* have made a ıithy declamation against Tumults, but first whether hese were Tumults or not, next if they were, wheher the King himselfe did not cause them. Let us xamin therfore how things at that time stood. The King, as before hath bin prov'd, having both call'd his Parlament unwillingly, and as unwillingly from ime to time condescended to thir several acts, carying on a disjoynt and privat interest of his own, nd not enduring to be so cross'd and overswaid, specially in the executing of his chief and boldest nstrument, the Deputy of *Ireland*, first tempts the English Army, with no less reward then the spoile ıf *London*, to come up and destroy the Parlament. That being discover'd by some of the Officers, who, hough bad anough, yet abhorr'd so foule a deed, he King hard'nd in his purpose, turnes him next to

the Scotch Army; and baites his temptation with a richer reward; not onely to have the ſacking of *London*, but four Northern Counties to be made Scottiſh; with Jewels of great value to be giv'n in pawn the while. But neither would the Scots, for any promiſe of reward, be bought to ſuch an execrable and odious treachery; but with much honeſty gave notice of the Kings deſigne, both to the Parlament and City of *London*. The Parlament moreover had intelligence, and the people could not but diſcern, that there was a bitter and malignant party grown up now to ſuch a boldneſs, as to give out inſolent and threatning ſpeeches againſt the Parlament it ſelfe. Beſides this, the Rebellion in *Ireland* was now broke out; and a conſpiracy in *Scotland* had bin made, while the King was there, againſt ſome chief Members of that Parlament; great numbers heer of unknown, and ſuſpicious perſons reſorted to the City; the King being return'd from *Scotland* preſently diſmiſſes that Guard which the Parlament thought neceſſary in the midſt of ſo many dangers to have about them; and puts another Guard in thir place, contrary to the Privilege of that high Court, and by ſuch a one commanded, as made them no leſs doubtfull of the Guard it ſelf. Which they therfore, upon ſom ill effects thereof firſt found, diſcharge; deeming it more ſafe to ſitt free, though without a Guard, in op'n danger, then inclos'd with a ſuſpected ſafety. The people therfore, leſt thir worthieſt and moſt faithfull Patriots, who had expos'd themſelves for the public, and whom they ſaw now left naked, ſhould want aide, or be deſerted in the midſt of theſe dangers, came in multitudes, though unarm'd, to witneſs thir fidelitie and readineſs in caſe of any violence offer'd to the Parlament. The King both envying to ſee the Peoples love thus devolv'd on another object, and doubting leſt it might

itterly disable him to doe with Parlaments as he was wont, sent a message into the City forbidding such resorts. The Parlament also both by what was discover'd to them, and what they saw in a Malignant Party (some of which had already drawn blood in a Fray or two at the Court Gate, and eev'n at thir own Gate, in *Westminster Hall*) conceaving themselves to be still in danger where they sate, sent a most reasonable and just Petition to the King that a Guard might be allow'd them out of the City, whereof the Kings own *Chamberlaine*, the Earle of *Essex* might have command; it being the right of inferiour Courts to make chois of thir own Guard. This the King refus'd to doe, and why he refus'd, the very next day made manifest. For on that day it was, that he sallied out from *Whitehall*, with those trusty *Myrmidons*, to block up, or give assault to the House of Commons. He had, besides all this, begun to fortifie his Court, and entertain'd armed Men not a few; who standing at his Palace Gate, revil'd, and with drawn Swords wounded many of the People, as they went by unarm'd, and in a peaceable manner, whereof some dy'd. The passing by of a multitude, though neither to Saint *Georges* Feast, nor to a Tilting, certainly of it self was no Tumult; the expression of thir Loyalty and stedfastness to the Parlament, whose lives and safeties by more then sleight rumours they doubted to be in danger, was no Tumult. If it grew to be so, the cause was in the King himself and his injurious retinue, who both by Hostile preparations in the Court, and by actual assailing of the People, gave them just cause to defend themselves.

Surely those unarmed and Petitioning People needed not have bin so formidable to any, but to such whose consciences misgave them how ill they had deserv'd of the People; and first began to injure

them, becauſe they juſtly fear'd it from them; and then aſcribe that to popular Tumult, which was occaſion'd by thir own provoking.

And that the King was ſo emphatical and elaborat on this Theam againſt Tumults and expreſs'd with ſuch a vehemence his hatred of them, will redound leſs perhaps, then he was aware, to the commendation of his Goverment. For beſides that in good Goverments they happ'n ſeldomeſt, and riſe not without cauſe, if they prove extreme, and pernicious, they were never counted ſo to Monarchy, but to Monarchical Tyranny; and extremes one with another are at moſt Antipathy. If then the King ſo extremely ſtood in fear of Tumults, the inference will endanger him to be the other extreme. Thus farr the occaſion of this diſcours againſt Tumults; now to the diſcours it ſelfe, voluble anough, and full of ſentence, but that, for the moſt part, either ſpecious rather then ſolid, or to his cauſe nothing pertinent.

He never thought any thing more to preſage the miſchiefes that enſu'd, then thoſe Tumults. Then was his foreſight but ſhort, and much miſtak'n. Thoſe Tumults were but the mild effects of an evil and injurious raigne; not ſignes of miſcheifs to come, but ſeeking releefe for miſcheifs paſt; thoſe ſignes were to be read more apparent in his rage and purpos'd revenge of thoſe free expoſtulations, and clamours of the People againſt his lawleſs Goverment. *Not any thing*, ſaith he, *portends more Gods diſpleaſure againſt a Nation then when he ſuffers the clamours of the Vulgar to paſs all bounds of Law and reverence to Autority.* It portends rather his diſpleaſure againſt a Tyrannous King, whoſe proud Throne he intends to overturn by that contemptible Vulgar; the ſad cries and oppreſſions of whom his Royaltie regarded not. As for that ſupplicating People they did no hurt either to Law or Autority, but ſtood for it ra-

her in the Parlament againſt whom they fear'd would violate it.

That they invaded the Honour and Freedome of the two Houſes, is his own officious accuſation, not ſeconded by the Parlament, who had they ſeen cauſe, were themſelves beſt able to complain. And if they *hook and menac'd* any, they were ſuch as had more relation to the Court, then to the Common-wealth; enemies, not patrons of the people. But if their petitioning unarmed were an invaſion of both Houſes, what was his entrance into the Houſe of Commons, beſetting it with armed men, in what condition then was the honour, and freedom of that Houſe?

They forebore not rude deportments, contemptuous words and actions to himſelf and his Court.

It was more wonder, having heard what treacherous hóſtility he had deſign'd againſt the Citty, and his whole Kingdom, that they forbore to handle him as people in thir rage have handl'd Tyrants heertofore for leſs offences.

They were not a ſhort ague, but a fierce quotidian feaver: He indeed may beſt ſay it, who moſt felt it; for the ſhaking was within him; and it ſhooke him by his own deſcription *worſe then a ſtorme, worſe then an earthquake; Belſhazzars* Palſie. Had not worſe feares, terrors, and envies made within him that commotion, how could a multitude of his Subjects, armd with no other weapon then Petitions, have ſhak'n all his joynts with ſuch a terrible ague. Yet that the Parlament ſhould entertaine the leaſt feare of bad intentions from him, or his party, he endures not; but would perſwade us that *men ſcare themſelves and others without cauſe;* for he thought feare would be to them a kind of armor, and his deſigne was, if it were poſſible, to diſarme all, eſpecially of a wiſe feare and ſuſpition; for that he knew would find weapons.

He goes on therfore with vehemence to repeat the miſcheifes don by theſe tumults. *They firſt Petition'd, then protected, dictate next, and laſtly overaw the Parlament. They remov'd obſtructions, they purg'd the houſes, caſt out rott'n members.* If there were a man of iron, ſuch as *Talus*, by our Poet *Spencer*, is fain'd to be the page of Juſtice, who with his iron flaile could doe all this, and expeditiouſly, without thoſe deceitfull formes and circumſtances of law, worſe then ceremonies in religion; I ſay God ſend it don, whether by one *Talus*, or by a thouſand.

But they ſubdu'd the men of conſcience in Parlament, back'd and abetted all ſeditious and ſchiſmaticall Propoſals againſt goverment eccleſiaſticall and civill.

Now wee may perceave the root of his hatred whence it ſprings. It was not the Kings grace or princely goodnes, but this iron flaile the People that drove the Biſhops out of thir Baronies, out of thir Cathedrals, out of the Lords Houſe, out of thir Copes and Surplices, and all thoſe Papiſtical innovations, threw downe the High-Commiſſion and Star-chamber, gave us a Triennial Parlament, and what we moſt deſir'd; in revenge whereof he now ſo bitterly inveighs againſt them; theſe are thoſe ſeditious and ſciſmatical Propoſals, then by him condeſcended to, as acts of grace, now of another name; which declares him, touching matters of Church and State, to have bin no other man in the deepeſt of his ſolitude, then he was before at the higheſt of his Sovrantie.

But this was not the worſt of theſe tumults, they plaid the haſty *midwives*, and *would not ſtay the ripening, but went ſtreight to ripping up, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes.*

They would not ſtay perhaps the Spaniſh demurring, and putting off ſuch wholeſome acts and counſels, as the politic Cabin at *Whitehall* had no mind

to. But all this is complain'd heer as don to the Parlament, and yet wee heard not the Parlament at that time complaine of any violence from the people, but from him. Wherfore intrudes he to plead the cauſe of Parlament againſt the People, while the Parlament was pleading thir owne cauſe againſt him; and againſt him were forc'd to ſeek refuge of the people? 'Tis plaine then that thoſe confluxes and reſorts interrupted not the Parlament, nor by them were thought Tumultuous, but by him onely and his Court Faction.

But what good Man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſir'd for the public good, then attain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious meanes; as much as to ſay, Had not rather ſit ſtill and let his Countrie be tyranniz'd, then that the people, finding no other remedie, ſhould ſtand up like Men and demand thir Rights and Liberties. This is the artificialeſt peece of fineneſs to perſwade Men to be Slaves that the wit of Court could have invented. But heare how much better the Moral of this Leſſon would befitt the Teacher. What good man had not rather want a boundleſs and arbitrary power, and thoſe fine Flowers of the Crown, call'd Prerogatives, then for them to uſe force and perpetual vexation to his faithfull Subjects, nay to wade for them through blood and civil Warr. So that this and the whole bundle of thoſe following ſentences may be apply'd better to the convincement of his own violent courſes, then of thoſe pretended Tumults.

Who were the cheife Demagogues to ſend for thoſe Tumults, ſome alive are not ignorant. Setting aſide the affrightment of this Goblin word; for the King by his leave cannot coine Engliſh as he could Mony, to be current (and tis beleev'd this wording was above his known ſtile and Orthographie, and accuſes the whole compoſure to be conſcious of ſom other

Author) yet if the People *were sent for, embold'nd and directed* by those *Demagogues*, who saving his Greek, were good Patriots, and by his own confession *Men of some repute for parts and pietie*, it helps well to assure us there was both urgent cause, and the lesse danger of their comming.

Complaints were made, yet no redress could be obtain'd. The Parlament also complain'd of what danger they sate in from another party, and demanded of him a Guard, but it was not granted. What marvel then if it chear'd them to see some store of thir Friends, and in the Roman not the pettifogging sense, thir Clients so neer about them; a defence due by nature both from whom it was offer'd, and to whom; as due as to thir Parents; though the Court storm'd, and fretted to see such honour giv'n to them, who were then best Fathers of the Common-wealth. And both the Parlament and people complain'd, and demanded Justice for those assaults if not murders don at his own dores, by that crew of Rufflers; but he, in stead of doing Justice on them, justifi'd and abetted them in what they did, as in his public Answer to a Petition from the City may be read. Neither is it slightly to be pass'd over, that in the very place where blood was first drawn in this cause, as the beginning of all that follow'd, there was his own blood shed by the Executioner. According to that sentence of Divine Justice, In the place where Dogs lick'd the blood of *Naboth*, shall Dogs lick thy blood, eev'n thine.

From hence he takes occasion to excuse that improvident and fatal error of his absenting from the Parlament. *When he found that no Declaration of the Bishops could take place against those Tumults.* Was that worth his considering, that foolish and selfe-undoing Declaration of twelve Cypher Bishops, who were immediately appeacht of Treason for that au-

dacious Declaring? The Biſhops peradventure were now and then pull'd by the Rochets, and deſerv'd another kind of pulling; but what amounted this to *the feare of his own perſon in the Streets?* Did he not the very next day after his irruption into the Houſe of Commons, then which nothing had more exaſperated the people, goe in his Coach unguarded into the City? did hee receave the leaſt affront, much leſs violence in any of the Streets, but rather humble demeanours, and ſupplications? Hence may be gather'd, that however in his own guiltineſs hee might have juſtly fear'd, yet that he knew the people ſo full of aw and reverence to his Perſon, as to dare committ himſelfe ſingle among the thickeſt of them, at a time when he had moſt provok'd them. Beſides in *Scotland* they had handl'd the Biſhops in a more robuſtious manner; *Edinburrow* had bin full of Tumults, two Armies from thence had enterd *England* againſt him; yet after all this, hee was not fearfull, but very forward to take ſo long a journey to *Edinburrow;* which argues firſt, as did alſo his rendition afterward to the Scotch Army, that to *England* he continu'd ſtill, as he was indeed, a ſtranger, and full of diffidence; to the Scots onely a native King, in his confidence, though not in his dealing towards them. It ſhews us next beyond doubting, that all this his feare of Tumults was but a meer pretence and occaſion tak'n of his reſolved abſence from the Parlament, for ſome other end not difficult to be gueſs'd. And thoſe inſtances wherein valour is not to be queſtion'd for not *Scuffling with the Sea, or an undiſciplind Rabble,* are but ſubſervient to carry on the ſolemn jeſt of his fearing Tumults: if they diſcover not withall, the true reaſon why he departed; onely to turne his flaſhing at the Court Gate, to ſlaughtering *in the Field;* his diſorderly bickering, to an orderly invading: which was nothing els but a more orderly diſorder.

Some ſuſpected and affirm'd, that he meditated a Warr when he went firſt from White Hall. And they were not the worſt heads that did ſo, nor did *any of his former acts weak'n him* to that, as hee alleges for himſelfe, or if they had, they cleere him onely for the time of paſſing them, not for what ever thoughts might come after into his mind. Former actions of improvidence or feare, not with him unuſual, cannot abſolve him of all after meditations.

He goes on proteſting his *no intention to have left White Hall*, had theſe horrid Tumults giv'n him but *Faire Quarter*, as if hee himſelfe, his Wife and Children had bin in peril. But to this anough hath bin anſwer'd.

Had this Parlament as it was in its firſt Election, Namely, with the Lord and Baron Biſhops, *ſate full and free*, he doubts not but all had gon well. What warrant this of his to us? Whoſe not doubting was all good mens greateſt doubt.

He was reſolv'd to heare reaſon, and to conſent ſo farr as he could comprehend. A hopefull reſolution; what if his reaſon were found by oft experience to comprehend nothing beyond his own advantages, was this a reaſon fit to be intruſted with the common good of three Nations?

But, ſaith he, *as Swine are to Gardens, ſo are Tumults to Parlaments.* This the Parlament, had they found it ſo, could beſt have told us. In the meane while, who knows not that one great Hogg may doe as much miſchief in a Garden as many little Swine.

He was ſometimes prone to think that had hee call'd this laſt Parlament to any other place in England, the ſad conſequences might have bin prevented. But change of ayr changes not the mind. Was not his firſt Parlament at *Oxford* diſſolv'd after two Subſidies giv'n him, and no Juſtice receav'd? Was not his laſt in the ſame place, where they ſate with as much

reedom, as much quiet from Tumults, as they could lesire, a Parlament both in his account, and thir own, :onsisting of all his Friends, that fled after him, and uffer'd for him, and yet by him nick-nam'd, and :asheer'd for a *Mungrill Parlament that vext his Queen with thir base and mutinous motions*, as his Cabinet etter tells us. Wherby the World may see plainly, :hat no shifting of place, no sifting of Members to his own mind, no number, no paucity, no freedom from tumults, could ever bring his arbitrary wilfulness, and tyrannical Designes to brook the lest shape or similitude, the lest counterfet of a Parlament.

Finally in stead of praying for his people as a good King should doe, hee prays to be deliver'd from :hem, as *from wild Beasts, Inundations, and raging Seas, that had overborn all Loyalty, Modesty, Laws, Justice, and Religion.* God save the People from such Intercessors.

V. *Upon the Bill for Trienniall Parlaments, and for setling this*, &c.

THe Bill for Triennial Parlaments was doubtless a good Bill, and the other for setling this was at that time very expedient; and in the Kings own words no more then what the World *was fully confirm'd hee might in Justice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience grant them;* for o that end he affirmes to have don it.

But wheras he attributes the passing of them to his own act of grace and willingness, as his manner s to make vertues of his necessities, and giving to himselfe all the praise, heaps ingratitude upon the Parlament, a little memory will sett the cleane conrary before us; that for those Beneficial acts we ow what we ow to the Parlament; but to his granting

them neither praise nor thanks. The first Bill granted much less then two former Statutes yet in force by *Edward* the third; that a Parlament should be call'd every yeare, or ofter if need were; nay from a farr ancienter Law Book call'd the *Mirror*, it is affirm'd in a late Treatise call'd *Rights of the Kingdom*, that Parlaments by our old Laws ought twice a yeare to be at *London*. The second was so necessary that nothing in the power of Man, more seem'd to be the stay and support of all things from that steep ruin, to which he had nigh brought them, then that Act obtain'd. He had by his ill Stewardship, and, to say no worse, the needless raising of two Armies, intended for a civil Warr, begger'd both himself and the Public: and besides had left us upon the score of his needy Enemies, for what it cost them in thir owne defence against him. To disingage him and the Kingdom, great sums were to be borrow'd, which would never have bin lent, nor could ever be repaid, had the King chanc'd to dissolve this Parlament as heertofore. The errors also of his Goverment had brought the Kingdom to such extremes, as were incapable of all recovery without the absolute continuance of this Parlament. It had bin els in vaine to goe about the settling of so great distempers, if hee who first caus'd the malady might when he pleas'd reject the remedy. Notwithstanding all which, that he granted both these Acts unwillingly, and as a meer passive Instrument, was then visible eev'n to most of those Men who now will see nothing.

At passing of the former Act he himselfe conceal'd not his unwillingness; and testifying a general dislike of thir actions, which they then proceeded in with great approbation of the whole Kingdom, he told them with a maisterly Brow, that *by this act he had oblig'd them above what they had deserv'd*, and gave

peece of Juſtice to the Common-wealth three imes ſhort of his Predeceſſors, as if he had bin giv-ng ſom boon, or begg'd Office to a ſort of his de-ertleſs Grooms.

That he paſs'd the latter Act againſt his will, no nan in reaſon can hold it queſtionable. For if the *February* before he made ſo dainty, and were ſo loath o beſtow a Parlament once in three yeare upon the Nation, becauſe this had ſo oppos'd his courſes, was t likely that the *May* following he ſhould beſtow willingly on this Parlament an indiſſoluble ſitting, when they had offended him much more, by cutting hort and impeaching of high Treaſon his chief Fa-vorites? It was his feare then, not his favor which drew from him that Act, leſt the Parlament, incens'd by his Conſpiracies againſt them about the ſame time diſcover'd, ſhould with the People have reſented too hainouſly thoſe his doings, if to the ſuſpicion of thir danger from him, he had alſo added the denyall of this onely meanes to ſecure themſelves.

From theſe Acts therfore in which he glories, and wherwith ſo oft hee upbraids the Parlament, he can-not juſtly expect to reape aught but diſhonour and diſpraiſe; as being both unwillingly granted, and the one granting much leſs then was before allow'd by Statute, the other being a teſtimony of his violent and lawleſs Cuſtom, not onely to break Privileges, but whole Parlaments; from which enormity they were conſtrain'd to bind him firſt of all his Prede-ceſſors; never any before him having giv'n like cauſes of diſtruſt and jealouſie to his People. As for this Parlament, how farr he was from being ad-vis'd by them, as he ought, let his own words ex-preſs.

He taxes them with *undoing what they found well done:* and yet knows they undid nothing in the Church but Lord Biſhops, Liturgies, Ceremonies,

High Commiſſion, judg'd worthy by all true Proteſtants to bee thrown out of the Church. They undid nothing in the State but irregular and grinding Courts, the maine greevances to be remov'd; and if theſe were the things which in his opinion they found well don, we may againe from hence be inform'd with what unwillingneſs hee remov'd them; and that thoſe gracious Acts wherof ſo frequently hee makes mention, may be engliſh'd more properly Acts of feare and diſſimulation againſt his mind and conſcience.

The Bill preventing diſſolution of this Parlament he calls *An unparalell'd Act out of the extreme confidence that his Subjects would not make ill uſe of it*. But was it not a greater confidence of the People to put into one mans hand ſo great a power, till he abus'd it, as to ſummon and diſſolve Parlaments? Hee would be thankt for truſting them, and ought to thank them rather for truſting him: the truſt iſſuing firſt from them, not from him.

And that it was a meer truſt, and not his Prerogative, to call and diſſolve Parlaments at his pleaſure, and that Parlaments were not to be diſſolv'd, till all Petitions were heard, all greevances redreſt, is not onely the aſſertion of this Parlament but of our ancient Law Books, which averr it to be an unwritt'n Law of common Right, ſo ingrav'n in the hearts of our Anceſtors, and by them ſo conſtantly enjoy'd and claim'd, as that it needed not enrouling. And if the Scots in thir Declaration could charge the King with breach of their Laws, for breaking up that Parlament without their conſent, while matters of greateſt moment were depending, it were unreaſonable to imagin that the wiſdom of *England* ſhould be ſo wanting to it ſelf through all Ages, as not to provide by ſom known Law writt'n or unwritt'n, againſt the not calling, or the arbitrary diſſolving of Parlaments;

ır that they who ordain'd thir ſummoning twice a 'eare, or as oft as need requir'd, did not tacitly enact lſo, that as neceſſity of affaires call'd them, ſo the ame neceſſity ſhould keep them undiſſolv'd, till that vere fully ſatisfi'd. Were it not for that, Parlanents, and all the fruit and benefit we receave by iaving them, would turne ſoon to meer abuſion. It ıppeares then that if this Bill of not diſſolving were .n unparallel'd Act, it was a known and common Right which our Anceſtors under other Kings enoyd as firmly as if it had bin grav'n in Marble; and hat the infringement of this King firſt brought it nto a writt'n Act: Who now boaſts that, as a great avour don us, which his own leſs fidelity then was n former Kings conſtrain'd us onely of an old unloubted Right to make a new writt'n Act. But vhat needed writt'n Acts, when as anciently it was ſteem'd part of his Crowne Oath not to diſſolve Parlaments, till all greevances were conſider'd; wherıpon the old *Modi of Parlament*, calls it flat perjury, f he diſſolve them before; as I find cited in a Booke nention'd at the beginning of this Chapter, to which ınd other Law-tractats I referr the more Lawyerlie nooting of this point: which is neither my element, ıor my proper work heer; ſince the Book which I ıave to Anſwer pretends to reaſon, not to Autorities ınd quotations: and I hold reaſon to be the beſt Arıitrator, and the Law of Law it ſelf.

Tis true that *good Subjects think it not juſt that the Kings condition ſhould be worſe by bettering theirs*. But hen the King muſt not be at ſuch a diſtance from he people in judging what is better and what worſe; vhich might have bin agreed, *had he known* (for his ıwn words condemn him) *as well with moderation to ſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire his own advantages*.

A continuall Parlament he thought would keep the Common-wealth in tune. Judge Common-wealth what

proofs he gave, that this boasted profession was ever in his thought.

Some, saith he, *gave out that I repented me of that setling act*. His own actions gave it out beyond all supposition. For doubtless it repented him to have establish'd that by Law, which he went about so soon after to abrogat by the Sword.

He calls those Acts which he confesses, *tended to thir good, not more Princely then friendly contributions*. As if to doe his duty were of courtesie, and the discharge of his trust a parcell of his liberality; so nigh lost in his esteem was the birth-right of our Liberties, that to give them back againe upon demand stood at the mercy of his *Contribution*.

He doubts not but the affections of his People will compensate his sufferings for those acts of confidence. And imputes his sufferings to a contrary cause. Not his confidence, but *his distrust* was that which brought him to those sufferings, from the time that he forsook his Parlament, and trusted them ne're the sooner for what he tells *of thir pietie and religious strictness*, but rather hated them as Puritans, whom he always sought to extirpate.

He would have it beleev'd, that *to bind his hands by these Acts argu'd a very short foresight of things, and extreme fatuitie of mind in him*, if he had meant a Warr. If we should conclude so, that were not the onely Argument: Neither did it argue that he meant peace; knowing that what he granted for the present out of feare, he might as soon repeale by force, watching his time; and deprive them the fruit of those Acts, if his own designes, wherin he put his trust, took effect.

Yet he complaines, *That the Tumults threatn'd to abuse all acts of grace and turne them into wantonness*. I would they had turn'd his wantonness into the grace of not abusing Scripture. Was this becom-

ming ſuch a Saint as they would make him, to adulterat thoſe Sacred words from the grace of God to the acts of his own grace? *Herod* was eat'n up of Wormes for ſuffering others to compare his voice to the voice of God; but the Borrower of this phraſe gives much more cauſe of jealouſie that he lik'n'd, his own acts of grace to the acts of Gods grace.

From profaneneſs hee ſcars comes off with perfet ſenſe, *I was not then in a capacity to make Warr*, therfore *I intended not*. *I was not in a capacity*, therfore *I could not have giv'n my Enemies greater advantage then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy to have ſcatter'd them by Armes, whom but lately I had ſettl'd by Parlament*. What place could there be for his inconſtancy to doe that thing wherto he was in no capacity? Otherwiſe his inconſtancy was not ſo unwonted, or ſo nice but that it would have eaſily found pretences to ſcatter thoſe in revenge, whom he ſettl'd in feare.

It had bin a courſe full of ſin as well as of hazzard and diſhonour. True, but if thoſe conſiderations withheld him not from other actions of like nature, how can we beleeve they were of ſtrength ſufficient to withhold him from this? And that they withheld him not, the event ſoon taught us.

His letting ſome men goe up to the Pinnacle of the Temple was a temptation to them to caſt him downe headlong. In this *Simily* wee have himſelfe compar'd to *Chriſt*, the Parlament to the *Devill*, and his giving them that Act of ſettling, to his letting them goe up to the *Pinnacle of the Temple*. A tottring and giddy Act rather then a ſettling. This was goodly uſe made of Scripture in his Solitudes. But it was no Pinnacle of the Temple, it was a Pinnacle of *Nebuchadnezzars* Palace from whence hee and Monarchy fell headlong together.

He would have others ſee that *All the Kingdomes*

of the World are not worth gaining by wayes of sin which hazzard the Soule; and hath himselfe left nothing unhazzarded to keep three. He concludes with sentences that rightly scand make not so much for him as against him, and confesses that *The Act of settling was no sin of his will,* and wee easily beleeve him, for it hath bin clearly prov'd a sin of his unwillingness.

With his Orisons I meddle not, for hee appeals to a high Audit. This yet may be noted, that at his Prayers he had before him the sad presage of his ill success, *As of a dark and dangerous Storme which never admitted his returne to the Port from whence he set out.* Yet his Prayer-Book no sooner shutt, but other hopes flatter'd him; and thir flattering was his destruction.

VI. *Upon His Retirement from* Westminster.

THe Simily wherwith hee beginns I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb somwhat more Poeticall then for a Statist: but meeting with many straines of like dress in other of his Essaies, and hearing him reported a more diligent reader of Poets, then of Politicians, I begun to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a peece of Poetrie. The words are good, the fiction smooth and cleanly; there wanted onely Rime, and that, they say, is bestow'd upon it lately. But to the Argument.

I stay'd at White Hall till I was driv'n away by shame more then feare. I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet heer, I must confess, it lies too op'n. In his Messages, and Declarations, nay in the whole Chapter next but one before this, hee affirmes that *The danger, wherein his Wife, his Children, and*

his owne Perſon were by thoſe Tumults, was the maine cauſe that drove him from *White Hall*, and appea es to God as witneſs: he affirmes heer that it was *ſhame more then feare*. And *Digby*, who knew his mind as well as any, tells his new-liſted Guard, *That the principall cauſe of his Majeſties going thence, was to ſave them from being trodd in the dirt*. From whence we may diſcerne what falſe and frivolous excuſes are avow'd for truth, either in thoſe Declarations, or in this Penitential Book. Our forefathers were of that courage and ſeverity of zeale to Juſtice, and thir native Liberty, againſt the proud contempt and miſrule of thir Kings, that when *Richard* the Second departed but from a Committie of Lords, who ſate preparing matter for the Parlament, not yet aſſembl'd, to the removal of his evil Counſelors, they firſt vanquiſh'd and put to flight *Robert de Vere* his chief Favorite, and then comming up to *London* with a huge Army, requir'd the King then withdrawn for feare, but no furder off then the Tower, to come to *Weſtminſter*. Which he refuſing, they told him flatly, that unleſs he came, they would chooſe another. So high a crime it was accounted then, for Kings to abſent themſelves, not from a Parlament, which none ever durſt, but from any meeting of his Peeres and Counſelors, which did but tend towards a Parlament. Much leſs would they have ſuffer'd that a King for ſuch trivial and various pretences, one while for feare of Tumults, another while *for ſhame to ſee them*, ſhould leave his Regal Station, and the whole Kingdom bleeding to death of thoſe wounds which his own unſkilfull and pervers Goverment had inflicted.

Shame then it was that drove him from the Parlament, but the ſhame of what? Was it the ſhame of his manifold errours and miſdeeds, and to ſee how weakly he had plai'd the King? No; *But to ſee*

the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults to demand any thing. We have ſtarted heer another, and, I beleeve, the trueſt cauſe of his deſerting the Parlament. The worſt and ſtrangeſt of that *Any thing* which the people then demanded, was but the unlording of Biſhops, and expelling them the Houſe, and the reducing of Church-Diſcipline to a conformity with other Proteſtant Churches: this was the *Barbariſm* of thoſe Tumults; and that he might avoid the granting of thoſe honeſt and pious demands, as well demanded by the Parlament as the People, for this very cauſe, more then for feare, by his own confeſſion heer, he left the City; and in a moſt tempeſtuous ſeaſon forſook the Helme, and ſteerage of the Common-wealth. This was that terrible *Any thing* from which his *Conſcience* and *his Reaſon* choſe to run rather then not deny. To be importun'd the removing of evil Counſelors, and other greevances in Church and State, was to him *an intollerable oppreſſion*. If the Peoples demanding were ſo burd'nſome to him, what was his deniall and delay of Juſtice to them?

But as the demands of his People were to him a burd'n and oppreſſion, ſo was the advice of his Parlament eſteem'd a bondage, *Whoſe agreeing Votes*, as he affirmes, *were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to his judgement*. For the Law, it ordaines a Parlament to adviſe him in his great affaires; but if it ordaine alſo that the ſingle judgement of a King ſhall out-ballance all the wiſdom of his Parlament, it ordaines that which fruſtrats the end of its own ordaining. For where the Kings judgement may diſſent, to the deſtruction, as it may happ'n, both of himſelf and the Kingdom, there advice, and no furder, is a moſt inſufficient, and fruſtraneous meanes to be provided by Law, in caſes of ſo high concernment. It being therfore moſt unlike a Law, to

ordain a remedy ſo ſlender and unlawlike, to be the utmoſt meanes of all public ſafety, or prevention, as advice is, which may at any time be rejected by the ſole judgement of one man, the King, and ſo unlike the Law of *England*, which Lawyers ſay is the quinteſſence of reaſon, wee may conclude that the Kings negative voice was never any Law, but an abſurd and reaſonleſs Cuſtom, begott'n and grown up either from the flattery of baſeſt times, or the uſurpation of immoderat Princes. Thus much to the Law of it, by a better evidence then Rowles and Records, Reaſon.

But is it poſſible he ſhould pretend alſo to reaſon, that the judgement of one man, not as a wiſe or good man, but as a King, and oft times a wilfull, proud, and wicked King, ſhould outweigh the prudence, and all the vertue of an elected Parlament? What an abuſive thing it were then to ſummon Parlaments, that by the major part of voices greateſt matters may be there debated and reſolv'd, when as one voice after that ſhall daſh all thir Reſolutions?

He attempts to give a reaſon why it ſhould, *Becauſe the whole Parlament repreſents not him in any kind.* But mark how little hee advances; for if the Parlament repreſent the whole Kingdome, as is ſure enough they doe, then doth the King repreſent onely himſelf; and if a King without his Kingdom be in a civil ſenſe nothing, then without or againſt the Repreſentative of his whole Kingdom, hee himſelf repreſents nothing, and by conſequence his judgement and his negative is as good as nothing; and though we ſhould allow him to be ſomething, yet not equal, or comparable to the whole Kingdom, and ſo neither to them that repreſent it.

Yet heer he maintaines, *To be no furder bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then he ſees them to agree with the will of God, with his juſt Rights as a*

King, and the generall good of his People. As to freedom of his agreeing or not agreeing, limited w due bounds, no man reprehends it; this is the Qu tion heer, or the Miracle rather, why his onely agreeing ſhould lay a negative barr and inhibi upon that which is agreed to by a whole Parlam though never ſo conducing to the Public goo ſafety. To know the will of God better then whole Kingdome, Whence ſhould he have it? (tainly Court-breeding and his perpetual converſa with Flatterers, was but a bad Schoole. To ju of his own Rights could not belong to him, who no right by Law in any Court to judge of ſo n as Fellony or Treaſon, being held a party in theſe Caſes, much more in this; and his Ri however ſhould give place to the general good which end all his Rights were giv'n him. L to ſuppoſe a clearer inſight and diſcerning of general good, allotted to his own ſingular judgen then to the Parlament and all the People, and that ſelf-opinion of diſcerning, to deny them good which they being all Freemen ſeek earne and call for, is an arrogance and iniquity be imagination rude and unreaſonable: they undo edly having moſt autoritie to judge of the pu good, who for that purpoſe are chos'n out, and by the People to adviſe him. And if it may b him to ſee oft *the major part of them not in the r* had it not bin more his modeſtie to have dou their ſeeing him more oft'n in the wrong?

Hee paſſes to another reaſon of his denialls, *cauſe of ſome mens hydropic unſatiableneſs, and thi aſking, the more they drank, whom no fountaine of r bountie was able to overcome.* A compariſon r properly beſtow'd on thoſe that came to guzzl his Wine-cellar, then on a freeborn People came to claime in Parlament thir Rights and Li

ies, which a King ought therfore to grant, becauſe if right demanded; not to deny them for feare his bounty ſhould be exhauſt, which in theſe demands (to continue the ſame Metaphor) was not ſo much as Broach'd; it being his duty, not his bounty to grant theſe things.

Putting off the Courtier he now puts on the Philoſopher, and ſententiouſly diſputes to this effect, *That reaſon ought to be us'd to men, force and terror to Beaſts; that he deſerves to be a ſlave who captivates the rationall ſoverantie of his ſoule, and liberty of his will to compulſion; that he would not forfeit that freedome which cannot be deni'd him, as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man and a Chriſtian, though to preſerve his Kingdom, but rather dye enjoying the Empire of his ſoule, then live in ſuch a vaſſalage as not to uſe his reaſon and conſcience to like or diſlike as a King.* Which words, of themſelves, as farr as they are ſenſe, good and Philoſophical, yet in the mouth of him who to engroſs this common libertie to himſelf, would tred down all other men into the condition of Slaves and Beaſts, they quite looſe thir commendation. He confeſſes a rational ſovrantie of ſoule, and freedom of will in every man, and yet with an implicit repugnancy would have his reaſon the ſovran of that ſovranty, and would captivate and make uſeleſs that natural freedom of will in all other men but himſelf. But them that yeeld him this obedience he ſo well rewards, as to pronounce them worthy to be Slaves. They who have loſt all to be his Subjects, may ſtoop and take up the reward. What that freedom is, which *cannot be deni'd him as a King, becauſe it belongs to him as a Man, and a Chriſtian,* I underſtand not. If it be his negative voice, it concludes all men who have not ſuch a negative as his againſt a whole Parlament, to be neither Men, nor Chriſtians: and what was he himſelf then, all this while

that we [illegible] him as a King? Will hee say that hee enjoy'd within himselfe the less freedom for that? Might not he, both as a Man and as a Christian have enjoy'd within himselfe, in full sovranty of Soule, or what nothing, but that his outward and imperious will must invade the civil Liberties of a Nation? Did wee therefore not permit him to use his reason or his conscience, not permitting him to beleive as the rule of ours? And might not he have enjoy'd both, as a King, governing us as Free men by what Laws wee our selves would be govern'd? It was not the inward use of his reason and his conscience that would content him, but to use them both as a Law over all his Subjects, *in whatever he desired as a King or like or dislike.* Which use of reason, most reasonless and unconscionable, is the utmost that any Tyrant ever pretended over his Vassals.

In all wise Nations the Legislative power, and the judicial execution of that power have bin most commonly distinct, and in several hands: but yet the former supreme, the other subordinat. If then the King be only set up to execute the Law, which is indeed the highest of his Office, he ought no more to make or forbidd the making of any law agreed upon in Parlament; then other inferior Judges, who are his Deputies. Neither can hee more reject a Law offerd him by the Commons, then he can new make a Law which they reject. And yet the more to credit and uphold his cause, he would seeme to have Philosophie on his side; straining her wise dictates to un-philosophicall purposes. But when Kings come so low, as to fawn upon Philosophie, which before they neither valu'd nor understood, tis a signe that failes not, they are then put to their last Trump. And Philosophie as well requites them, by not suffering her gold'n sayings either to become their lipps,

or to be us'd as maſks and colours of injurious and violent deeds. So that what they preſume to borrow from her ſage and vertuous rules, like the Riddle of *Sphinx* not underſtood, breaks the neck of thir own cauſe.

But now againe to Politics: *He cannot think the Majeſtie of the Crowne of England to be bound by any Coronation Oath in a blind and brutiſh formalitie, to conſent to whatever its Subjects in Parlament ſhall require.* What Tyrant could preſume to ſay more, when he meant to kick down all Law, Goverment, and bond of Oath? But why he ſo deſires to abſolve himſelf the Oath of his Coronation would be worth the knowing. It cannot but be yeelded, that the Oath which bindes him to performance of his truſt, ought in reaſon to contain the ſumm of what his chief truſt and Office is. But if it neither doe enjoyn, nor mention to him, as a part of his duty, the making or the marring of any Law or ſcrap of Law, but requires onely his aſſent to thoſe Laws which the People have already chos'n, or ſhall chooſe (for ſo both the Latin of that Oath, and the old Engliſh, and all Reaſon admits, that the People ſhould not loſe under a new King what freedom they had before) then that Negative voice ſo contended for, to deny the paſſing of any Law which the Commons chooſe, is both againſt the Oath of his Coronation, and his Kingly Office. And if the King may deny to paſs what the Parlament hath chos'n to be a Law, then doth the King make himſelf Superiour to his whole Kingdom; which not onely the general Maxims of Policy gainſay, but eev'n our own ſtanding Laws, as hath bin cited to him in Remonſtrances heertofore, that *The King hath two Superiours, the Law and his Court of Parlament.* But this he counts to be a blind and brutiſh formality, whether it be Law, or Oath, or his duty, and thinks to turn it off with

wholesom words and phrases, which he then first learnt of the honest People, when they were so oft'n compell'd to use them against those more truely blind and brutish formalities thrust upon us by his own command.

As for his instance in case *He and the House of Peers attempted to enjoyne the House of Commons*, it beares no equalitie; for hee and the Peers represent but themselves, the Commons are the whole Kingdom.

Thus he concludes *his Oath to be fully discharg'd in Governing by Laws already made*, as being not bound to pass any new, *if his Reason bids him deny*. And so may infinite mischeifs grow, and a whole Nation be ruin'd, while our general good and safety shall depend upon the privat and overweening Reason of one obstinat Man, who against all the Kingdom, if he list, will interpret both the Law and his Oath of Coronation by the tenor of his own will. Which hee himself confesses to be an arbitrary power, yet doubts not in his Argument to imply, as if he thought it more fitt the Parlament should be subject to his will, then he to their advice, a man neither by nature nor by nurture wise. How is it possible that hee in whom such Principles as these were so deep rooted, could ever, though restor'd again, have raign'd otherwise then Tyrannically.

He objects *That force was but a slavish method to dispell his error*. But how oft'n shall it be answer'd him that no force was us'd to dispell the error out of his head, but to drive it from off our necks: for his error was imperious, and would command all other men to renounce their own reason and understanding, till they perish'd under the injunction of his all-ruling error.

He alleges the uprightness of his intentions to excuse his possible failings; a position fals both in

Law and Divinity: Yea contrary to his own better principles, who affirmes in the twelfth Chapter, that *The goodneſs of a mans intention, will not excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of his example*. His not knowing, through the corruption of flattery and Court Principles, what he ought to have known, will not excuſe his not doing what he ought to have don: no more then the ſmall ſkill of him who undertakes to bee a *Pilot*, will excuſe him to be miſledd by any wandring Starr miſtak'n for the Pole. But let his intentions be never ſo upright, what is that to us? What anſwer for the reaſon and the National Rights which God hath giv'n us, if having Parlaments, and Laws and the power of making more to avoid miſcheif, wee ſuffer one mans blind intentions to lead us all with our eyes op'n to manifeſt deſtruction.

And if Arguments prevaile not with ſuch a one, force is well us'd; not *to carry on the weakneſs of our Counſels, or to convince his error*, as he ſurmiſes, but to acquitt and reſcue our own reaſon, our own conſciences from the force and prohibition laid by his uſurping error upon our Liberties and underſtandings.

Never thing pleas'd him more then when his judgement concur'd with theirs. That was to the applauſe of his own judgement, and would as well have pleas'd any ſelf-conceited man.

Yea in many things he choſe rather to deny himſelfe then them. That is to ſay in trifles. For *of his own Intereſts* and Perſonal Rights he conceavs himſelf *Maiſter*. To part with, if he pleaſe, not to conteſt for, againſt the Kingdom which is greater then he, whoſe Rights are all ſubordinat to the Kingdoms good: And *in what concernes truth, Juſtice, the right of Church, or his Crown, no man ſhall gaine his conſent againſt his mind.* What can be left then for a Parlament, but to ſit like Images, while he ſtill thus

either with incomparable arrogance assumes to himself the best abilitie of judging for other men what is Truth, Justice, Goodness, what his own, or the Churches right, or with unsufferable Tyranny restraines all men from the enjoyment of any good, which his judgement, though erroneous, thinks not fit to grant them; notwithstanding that the Law and his Coronal Oath requires his undeniable assent to what Laws the Parlament agree upon.

He had rather wear a Crown of Thorns with our Saviour. Many would be all one with our Saviour, whom our Saviour will not know. They who govern ill those Kingdoms which they had a right to, have to our Saviours Crown of Thornes no right at all. Thornes they may find anow, of thir own gathering, and thir own twisting: for Thornes and Snares, saith *Solomon*, are in the way of the froward; but to weare them as our Saviour wore them is not giv'n to them that suffer by thir own demerits. Nor is a Crown of Gold his due who cannot first wear a *Crowne of Lead;* not onely for the weight of that great Office, but for the compliance which it ought to have with them who are to counsel him, which heer he termes in scorne *An imbased flexiblenes to the various and oft contrary dictates of any Factions*, meaning his Parlament; for the question hath bin all this while between them two. And to his Parlament, though a numerous and choise Assembly of whom the Land thought wiseſt, he imputes rather then to himself, *want of reason, neglect of the Public, interest of parties, and particularitie of private will and passion;* but with what modesty or likelihood of truth it will be wearisom to repeat so oft'n.

He concludes with a sentence faire in seeming, but fallacious. For if the conscience be ill edifi'd, the resolution may more befitt a foolish then a Christian King, to preferr a self-will'd conscience before

a Kingdoms good; especially in the deniall of that which Law and his Regall Office by Oath bids him grant to his Parlament, and whole Kingdom rightfully demanding. For wee may observe him throughout the discours to assert his Negative power against the whole Kingdom; now under the specious Plea of his conscience and his reason, but heertofore in a lowder note, *Without us, or against our consent, the Votes of either or of both Houses together, must not, cannot, shall not: Declar. May* 4. 1642.

With these and the like deceavable Doctrines he levens also his Prayer.

VII. *Upon the Queens departure.*

TO this Argument we shall soon have said; for what concernes it us to hear a Husband divulge his Houshold privacies, extolling to others the vertues of his Wife; an infirmity not seldom incident to those who have least cause. But how good shee was a Wife, was to himself, and be it left to his own fancy; how bad a Subject, is not much disputed. And being such, it need be made no wonder, though shee left a Protestant Kingdom with as little honour as her Mother left a Popish.

That this *Is the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have tak'n up Armes against thir King a Protestant*, can be to Protestants no dishonour; when it shall be heard that he first levied Warr on them, and to the interest of Papists more then of Protestants. He might have giv'n yet the precedence of making Warr upon him to the Subjects of his own Nation; who had twice oppos'd him in the op'n Feild, long ere the English found it necessary to doe the like. And how groundless, how dissembl'd is that feare,

leſt ſhee, who for ſo many yeares had bin averſe from the Religion of her Huſband, and every year more and more, before theſe diſturbances broke out, ſhould for them be now the more alienated from that to which we never heard ſhee was inclin'd. But if the feare of her Delinquency and that Juſtice which the Proteſtants demanded on her, was any cauſe of her alienating the more, to have gain'd her by indirect meanes had bin no advantage to Religion; much leſs then was the detriment to looſe her furder off. It had bin happy if his own actions had not giv'n cauſe of more ſcandal to the Proteſtants, then what they did againſt her could juſtly ſcandalize any Papiſt.

Them who accus'd her, well anough known to be the Parlament, he cenſures for *Men yet to ſeeke thir Religion, whether Doctrine, Diſcipline, or good manners;* the reſt he ſoothes with the name of true Engliſh Proteſtants, a meer ſciſmatical name, yet he ſo great an enemy of Sciſm.

He aſcribes *Rudeneſs and barbarity worſe then Indian* to the Engliſh Parlament: and *all vertue* to his Wife, in ſtraines that come almoſt to Sonnetting: How fitt to govern men, undervaluing and aſperſing the great Counſel of his Kingdom, in compariſon of one Woman. Examples are not farr to ſeek, how great miſcheif and diſhonour hath befall'n to Nations under the Goverment of effeminate and Uxorious Magiſtrates. Who being themſelves govern'd and overſwaid at home under a Feminine uſurpation, cannot but be farr ſhort of ſpirit and autority without dores, to govern a whole Nation.

Her tarrying heer he could not think ſafe among them who were ſhaking hands with Allegeance to lay faſter hold on Religion; and taxes them of a duty rather then a crime, it being juſt to obey God rather then Man, and impoſſible to ſerve two Maiſters. I would they had quite ſhak'n off what they ſtood ſhaking hands

with; the fault was in thir courage, not in thir cauſe.

In his Prayer he praies that *The diſloyaltie of his Proteſtant Subjects may not be a hindrance to her love of the true Religion;* and never prays that the diſſoluteneſs of his Court, the ſcandals of his Clergy, the unſoundneſs of his own judgement, the lukewarmneſs of his life, his Letter of compliance to the Pope, his permitting Agents at *Rome*, and the Popes *Nuntio* here, may not be found in the ſight of God farr greater hindrances to her converſion.

But this had bin a ſuttle Prayer indeed, and well pray'd, though as duly as a *Pater-noſter*, if it could have charm'd us to ſit ſtill, and have Religion and our Liberties one by one ſnatch'd from us, for fear leaſt riſing to defend our ſelves, wee ſhould fright the Queen a ſtiff Papiſt from turning Proteſtant. As if the way to make his Queen a Proteſtant had bin to make his Subjects more then half way Papiſts.

He prays next *That his conſtancy may be an antidote againſt the poyſon of other mens example.* His conſtancy in what? Not in Religion, for it is op'nly known that her Religion wrought more upon him, then his Religion upon her, and his op'n favouring of Papiſts, and his hatred of them call'd Puritans, made moſt men ſuſpect ſhe had quite perverted him. But what is it that the blindneſs of hypocriſy dares not doe? it dares pray, and thinks to hide that from the eyes of God, which it cannot hide from the op'n view of man.

ace design'd for some new enterprise. But these attempts not succeeding, and that Town being now a custody of the Parlament, he sends a message to them, that he had firmely resolv'd to go in person into *Ireland*, to chastise those wicked rebels (for these and worse words he then gave them) and that toward his work he intended forthwith to raise by his commissions, in the Counties neere *Westchester*, a guard for his own person, consisting of 2000 foot, and 200 horse, that should be arm'd from his magazin at Hull. On the other side, the Parlament forseeing the Kings drift, about the same time send him a Petition, that they might have leave for necessary causes to remoov the magazin of Hull to the Towre of London; to which the King returnes his deniall; and soon after going to Hull, attended with about 400 Horse, requires the Governour to deliver him up the Town; wherof the Governour besought humbly to be excus'd, till he could send notice to the Parlament who had intrusted him; wherat the King much incens'd proclaims him Traitor before the Town Walls; and gives immediat order to stop all passages between him and the Parlament. Yet he himself dispatches post after post to demand justice, as upon a traitor: using a strange iniquity to require justice upon him whom he then waylayd and debarr'd from his appearance. The Parlament no sooner understood what had pass'd, but they declare that Sir *John Hotham* had don no more then was his duty, and was therfore no Traitor.

This relation, being most true, proves that which I affirm'd heer to be most fals; seeing the Parlament, whom he accounts his *greatest Enemies*, had [illegible] *confidence to abett and own* what Sir *John Hotham* [illegible]don, then the King had confidence to let him [illegible] in his own behalf.

[illegible]ke of his patience, and in that solemn

manner, he might better have forborne; *God knows* ſaith he, *it affected me more with ſorrow for others then with anger for my ſelfe; nor did the affront trouble me ſo much as their ſin.* This is read, I doubt not, and beleev'd: and as there is ſome uſe of every thing, ſo is there of this Book, were it but to ſhew us, what a miſerable, credulous, deluded thing that creature is, which is call'd the Vulgar; who notwithſtanding what they might know, will beleeve ſuch vain-glories as theſe. Did not that choleric, and vengefull act of proclaming him Traitor before due proceſs of Law, having bin convinc'd ſo late before of his illegallity with the five Members, declare his anger to be incens'd? doth not his own relation confeſs as much? and his ſecond Meſſage left him fuming three dayes after, and in plaine words teſtifies *his impatience of delay* till *Hotham* be ſeverely puniſh'd, for that which he there termes an inſupportable affront.

Surely if his ſorrow for Sir *John Hothams* ſin were greater then his anger for the affront, it was an exceeding great ſorrow indeed, and wondrous charitable. But if it ſtirr'd him ſo vehemently to have Sir *John Hotham* puniſht, and not at all, that we heare, to have him repent, it had a ſtrange operation to be call'd a ſorrow for his ſin. Hee who would perſwade us of his ſorrow for the ſins of other men, as they are ſins, not as they are ſin'd againſt himſelf, muſt give us firſt ſome teſtimony of a ſorrow for his own ſins, and next for ſuch ſins of other men as cannot be ſuppos'd a direct injury to himſelf. But ſuch compunction in the King no man hath yet obſerv'd; and till then, his ſorrow for Sir *John Hothams* ſin will be call'd no other then the reſentment of his repulſe; and his labour to have the ſinner onely puniſh'd, will be call'd by a right name, his revenge.

And *the hand of that cloud which caſt all ſoon after*

into darkneſs and diſorder, was his own hand. For aſſembling the Inhabitants of *York-ſhire*, and other Counties, Horſe and Foot, firſt under colour of a new Guard to his Perſon, ſoon after, being ſuppli'd with ammunition from *Holland*, bought with the Crown Jewells, he begins an op'n Warr by laying Seige to *Hull*. Which Towne was not his own, but the Kingdoms; and the Armes there, public Armes, bought with the public Mony, or not his own. Yet had they bin his own by as good right as the privat Houſe and Armes of any man are his own; to uſe either of them in a way not privat, but ſuſpitious to the Common-wealth, no Law permitts. But the King had no proprietie at all either in *Hull* or in the Magazin. So that the following *Maxims* which he cites *of bold and diſloyall undertakers* may belong more juſtly to whom he leaſt meant them. After this he againe relapſes into the praiſe of his patience at *Hull*, and by his overtalking of it, ſeems to doubt either his own conſcience, or the hardneſs of other mens beleif. To me, the more he praiſes it in himſelf, the more he ſeems to ſuſpect that in very deed it was not in him; and that the lookers on ſo likewiſe thought.

Thus much of what he ſuffer'd by *Hotham*, and with what patience; now of what *Hotham* ſuffer'd, as he judges, for oppoſing him. *He could not but obſerve how God not long after pleaded and aveng'd his cauſe.* Moſt men are too apt, and commonly the worſt of men, ſo to interpret and expound the judgements of God, and all other events of providence or chance, as makes moſt to the juſtifying of thir own cauſe, though never ſo evil; and attribute all to the particular favour of God towards them. Thus when *Saul* heard that *David* was in *Keilah*, *God*, ſaith he, *hath deliver'd him into my hands, for he is ſhut in.* But how farr that King was deceav'd in his thought

that God was favouring to his cauſe, that ſtory unfolds; and how little reaſon this King had to impute the death of *Hotham* to Gods avengement of his repuls at *Hull*, may eaſily be ſeen. For while *Hotham* continu'd faithfull to his truſt, no man more ſafe, more ſucceſsfull, more in reputation then hee. But from the time he firſt ſought to make his peace with the King, and to betray into his hands that Town, into which before he had deny'd him entrance, nothing proſper'd with him. Certainly had God purpos'd him ſuch an end for his oppoſition to the King, he would not have deferr'd to puniſh him till then when of an Enemy he was chang'd to be the Kings Friend, nor have made his repentance and amendment the occaſion of his ruin. How much more likely is it, ſince he fell into the act of diſloyalty to his charge, that the judgement of God concurr'd with the puniſhment of man, and juſtly cut him off for revolting to the King. To give the World an example, that glorious deeds don to ambitious ends, find reward anſwerable, not to thir outward ſeeming, but to thir inward ambition. In the mean while what thanks he had from the King for revolting to his cauſe, and what good opinion for dying in his ſervice, they who have ventur'd like him, or intend, may heer take notice.

Hee proceeds to declare, not onely in generall wherfore Gods judgment was upon *Hotham*, but undertakes by fanſies, and alluſions to give a criticiſm upon every particular. *That his head was devided from his body, becauſe his heart was devided from the King: two heads cut off in one family for affronting the head of the Common-wealth; the eldeſt ſon being infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the father of his Countrie.* Theſe petty gloſſes and conceits on the high and ſecret judgements of God, beſides the boldneſs of unwarrantable commenting, are ſo weake

and ſhallow, and ſo like the quibbl's of a Court Sermon, that we may ſafely reck'n them either fetcht from ſuch a pattern, or that the hand of ſom houſhold preiſt foiſted them in; leaſt the World ſhould forget how much he was the Diſciple of thoſe Cymbal Doctors. But that argument by which the Author would commend them to us, diſcredits them the more. For if they be ſo *obvious to every fancy*, the more likely to be erroneous, and to miſconceive the mind of thoſe high ſecrecies, whereof they preſume to determin. For God judges not by human fancy.

But however God judg'd *Hotham*, yet he had the Kings pitty; but marke the reaſon how prepoſterous; ſo farr he had his pitty, *as he thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his conſcience then many other men in the ſame cauſe*. Queſtionleſs they who act againſt conſcience, whether at the barr of human, or Divine Juſtice, are pittied leaſt of all. Theſe are the common grounds and verdicts of Nature, whereof when he who hath the judging of a whole Nation, is found deſtitute, under ſuch a Governour, that Nation muſt needs be miſerable.

By the way he jerkes at *ſome mens reforming to models of Religion, and that they think all is gold of pietie that doth but gliſter with a ſhew of Zeale*. We know this meaning; and apprehend how little hope there could be of him from ſuch language as this: But are ſure that the pietie of his prelatic modell, gliſter'd more upon the poſts and pillars which thir Zeale and fervencie guilded over, then in the true works of ſpiritual edification.

He is ſorry that Hotham felt the Juſtice of others, and fell not rather into the hands of his mercy. But to cleare that, he ſhould have ſhewn us what mercy he had ever us'd to ſuch as fell into his hands before, rather then what mercy he intended to ſuch as never

could come to aſke it. Whatever mercy one man might have expected, tis too well known, the whole Nation found none; though they beſought it oft'n, and ſo humbly; but had bin ſwallow'd up in blood and ruin, to ſet his privat will above the Parlament, had not his ſtrength faild him. *Yet clemency he counts a debt, which he ought pay to thoſe that crave it; ſince wee pay not any thing to God for his mercy, but prayers and praiſes.* By this reaſon we ought as freely to pay all things to all men; for of all that we receive from God, what doe we pay for, more then prayers and prayſes? we look'd for the diſcharge of his Office, the payment of his dutie to the Kingdom, and are payd Court payment with empty ſentences, that have the ſound of gravity, but the ſignificance of nothing pertinent.

Yet again after his mercy paſt and granted, he returnes back to give ſentence upon *Hotham;* and whom he tells us he would ſo fain have ſav'd alive, him he never leaves killing with a repeated condemnation, though dead long ſince. It was ill that ſom body ſtood not neer to whiſper him, that a reiterating Judge is wors then a tormentor. *He pitties him, he rejoyces not, he pitties him* again, but ſtill is ſure to brand him at the taile of his pitty, with ſom ignominious mark either of ambition or diſloyaltie. And with a kind of cenſorious pitty, aggravats rather then leſs'ns or conceals the fault: To pitty thus is to triumph.

He aſſumes to foreknow that *after times will diſpute whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull or at Towerhill.* What knew he of after times, who while he ſits judging and cenſuring without end, the fate of that unhappy Father and his ſon at Towerhill, knew not that the like fate attended him, before his owne Palace Gate; and as little knew whether after times doe not reſerve a greater infamy to the ſtory of his owne life and raigne.

He ſaies but over again in his prayer, what his Sermon hath Preacht; How acceptably to thoſe in heav'n wee leave to be decided by that precept which forbidds *Vain Repetitions*. Sure anough it lies as heavie as he can lay it, upon the head of poore *Hotham*.

Needs he will faſt'n upon God a peece of revenge as done for his ſake; and takes it for a favor, before he know it was intended him: which in his cloſet had bin excuſable, but in a Writt'n and publiſh'd prayer, too preſumptuous. *Eccleſiaſtes* hath a right name for ſuch kind of Sacrifices.

Going on he prayes thus, *Let not thy Juſtice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy*. To folly, or to blaſphemy, or to both ſhall we impute this? Shall the Juſtice of God give place, and ſerv to glorifie the mercies of a man? All other men, who know what they aſk, deſire of God that thir doings may tend to his glory; but in this prayer God is requir'd that his juſtice would forbeare to prevent, and as good have ſaid to intrench upon the glory of a mans mercy. If God forbeare his Juſtice it muſt be, ſure, to the magnifying of his own mercy: But heer a mortal man takes the boldneſs to aſke that glory out of his hand. It may be doubted now by them who underſtand Religion, whether the King were more unfortunat in this his prayer, or *Hotham* in thoſe his ſufferings.

IX. *Upon the Liſting and Raiſing Armies*, &c.

IT were an endleſs work to walk ſide by ſide with the Verboſity of this Chapter; onely to what already hath not bin ſpok'n, convenient anſwer ſhall be giv'n. Hee begins againe with Tumults; all demonſtration of

the Peoples Love and Loyaltie to the Parlament was Tumult; thir Petitioning, Tumult; thir defensive Armies were but *lifted Tumults;* and will take no notice that those about him, those in a time of Peace lifted into his own House, were the beginners of all these Tumults; abusing and assaulting not onely such as came peaceably to the Parlament at *London*, but those that came Petitioning to the King himself at *York*. Neither did they abstain from doing violence and outrage to the Messengers sent from Parlament; hee himself either count'nancing, or conniving at them.

He supposes that *His recess gave us confidence that he might bee conquer'd.* Other men suppose both that, and all things els, who knew him neither by nature Warlike, nor experienc'd, nor fortunate; so farr was any man that discern'd aught, from esteeming him unconquerable; yet such are readiest to imbroile others.

But he had a soule invincible. What praise is that? The stomach of a Child is ofttimes invincible to all correction. The unteachable Man hath a soule to all reason and good advice invincible; and hee who is intractable, he whom nothing can perswade, may boast himself invincible; when as in some things to be overcome is more honest and laudable then to conquer.

He labours to have it thought that *his fearing God more then Man* was the ground of his sufferings; but he should have known that a good principle not rightly understood, may prove as hurtfull as a bad; and his feare of God may be as faulty as a blind zeale. He pretended to feare God more then the Parlament; who never urg'd him to doe otherwise; he should also have fear'd God more then he did his Courtiers, and the Bishops who drew him, as they pleas'd, to things inconsistent with the feare of God. Thus boasted *Saul* to have *perform'd the Commandment*

of God, and ſtood in it againſt *Samuel;* but it was found at length that hee had fear'd the People more then God, in ſaving thoſe fatt Oxen for the worſhip of God which were appointed for deſtruction. Not much unlike, if not much wors, was that fact of his, who for feare to diſpleaſe his Court, and mungrel Clergy, with the diſſoluteſt of the People, upheld in the Church of God, while his power laſted, thoſe Beaſts of *Amalec*, the Prelats, againſt the advice of his Parlament and the example of all Reformation; in this more unexcuſable then *Saul*, that *Saul* was at length convinc'd, hee to the howr of death fix'd in his fals perſwaſion; and ſooths himſelfe in the flattering peace of an erroneous and obdurat conſcience; ſinging to his ſoul vain Pſalms of exultation, as if the Parlament had aſſail'd his reaſon with the force of Arms, and not he on the contrary their reaſon with his Armes; which hath bin prov'd already, and ſhall be more heerafter.

He twitts them with *his Acts of grace;* proud, and unſelf-knowing words in the mouth of any King, who affects not to be a God, and ſuch as ought to be as odious in the ears of a free Nation. For if they were unjuſt acts, why did hee grant them as of grace? If juſt, it was not of his grace, but of his duty, and his Oath to grant them.

A glorious King he would be, though *by his ſufferings:* But that can never be to him whoſe ſufferings are his own doings. He faines *a hard chois* put upon him *either to kill his own Subjects, or be kill'd.* Yet never was King leſs in danger of any violence from his Subjects, till he unſheath'd his Sword againſt them; nay long after that time, when he had ſpilt the blood of thouſands, they had ſtill his Perſon in a fooliſh veneration.

He complaines, *That civil Warr muſt be the fruits of his ſeventeen yeares raigning with ſuch a meaſure of*

Juſtice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations either admir'd or envi'd. For the Juſtice we had, let the Counſel Table, Starr-Chamber, High Commiſſion ſpeak the praiſe of it; not forgetting the unprincely uſage, and, as farr as might be, the aboliſhing of Parlaments, the diſplacing of honeſt Judges, the ſale of Offices, Bribery and Exaction not found out to be puniſh'd, but to be ſhar'd in, with impunity for the time to come. Who can number the extortions, the oppreſſions, the public robberies, and rapines, committed on the Subject both by Sea and Land, under various pretences? Thir poſſeſſions alſo tak'n from them, one while as Forreſt Land, another while as Crown-Land; nor were thir Goods exempted, no not the Bullion in the Mint; Piracy was become a project own'd and authoriz'd againſt the Subject.

For the peace we had, what peace was that which drew out the Engliſh to a needleſs and diſhonourable voyage againſt the *Spaniard* at *Cales?* Or that which lent our ſhipping to a treacherous and Antichriſtian Warr againſt the poore Proteſtants of Rochell our ſuppliants? What peace was that which fell to rob the *French* by Sea, to the imbarring of all our Merchants in that Kingdom? which brought forth that unbleſt expedition to the Ile of *Rhee*, doubtfull whether more calamitous in the ſucceſs or in the deſigne, betraying all the flowre of our military youth, and beſt Commanders to a ſhamefull ſurpriſal and execution. This was the peace we had, and the peace we gave, whether to freinds or to foes abroad. And if at home any peace were intended us, what meant thoſe billeted Souldiers in all parts of the Kingdom, and the deſigne of German Horſe, to ſubdue us in our peacefull Houſes.

For our Religion where was there a more ignorant, profane, and vitious clergy, learned in nothing

but the antiquitie of thir pride, thir covetoufnefs and fuperftition; whofe unfincere and levenous Doctrine corrupting the people, firft taught them loofnefs, then bondage; loofning them from all found knowledge and ftrictnefs of life, the more to fit them for the bondage of Tyrany and fuperftition. So that what was left us for other Nations not to pitty rather then admire or envy, all thofe feaventeen yeares, no wife man could fee. For wealth and plenty in a land where Juftice raignes not, is no argument of a flourifhing State, but of a neernefs rather to ruin or commotion.

Thefe were not *fome mifcarriages* only of Goverment, *which might efcape*, but a univerfal diftemper, and reducement of law to arbitrary power; not through the evil councels of *fome Men* but through the conftant cours and practice of all that were in higheft favour: whofe worft actions he frequently avow'd and took upon himfelf, and whofe Perfons when he could no longer protect, he efteem'd and favour'd to the end; but never otherwife then by conftraint, yeilded any of them to due Punifhment; thereby manifefting that what they did was by his own Autority and approbation.

Yet heer hee afks *Whofe innocent blood he hath fhed, what Widows or Orphans teares can witnefs againft him?* After the fufpected Poyfoning of his Father, not inquir'd into, but fmother'd up, and him protected, and advanc'd to the very half of his Kingdom, who was accus'd in Parlament to be Author of the fact; after fo many Yeares of cruel Warr on his People in three Kingdoms. Whence the Author of *Truths manifeft*, a *Scotchman* not unacquainted with affaires, pofitively affirmes, *That there hath bin more Chriftian blood fhed by the Commiffion, approbation, and connivance of King Charles, and his Father James in the latter end of thir raigne, then in the Ten Ro-*

eſcap'd no leſs then capital danger; whom
greedily purſuing into the Houſe of Commc
not there the forbearance to conceal how r
troubl'd him, *That the Birds were flowne.*
Vultur in the Mountains could have op'nd h
intelligibly and ſpoke, what fitter words c
have utter'd at the loſs of his prey? The
Nero, though not yet deſerving that name, ſett l
ſo unwillingly to the execution of a condemn
ſon, as to wiſh *Hee had not known letters.* C
for a King himſelf to charge his Subjects wi
treaſon, and ſo vehemently to Proſecute ther
owne cauſe, as to doe the Office of a Searc
gu'd in him no great averſation from ſheddin
were it but *to ſatisfie his anger*, and that
was no unpleaſing morſel to him, wherof he
thought not much to be ſo diligently his ov
terer. But we inſiſt rather upon what wa
then what was probable.

He now falls to examin the cauſes of thi
as a difficulty which he had long *ſtudied* to f
It was not, ſaith he, *my withdrawing from Whi*

Whom did hee protect againſt the Juſtice of Parlament? Whom did hee not to his utmoſt power? Endeavouring to have reſcu'd *Strafford* from thir Juſtice, though with the deſtruction of them and the City; to that end expreſſly commanding the admittance of new Soldiers into the Tower, rais'd by *Suckling* and other Conſpirators, under pretence for the *Portugall;* not to repeat his other Plot of bringing up the two Armies. But what can be diſputed with ſuch a King in whoſe mouth and opinion the Parlament it ſelf was never but a *Faction*, and thir Juſtice no Juſtice, but *The dictates and overſwaying inſolence of Tumults and Rabbles;* and under that excuſe avouches himſelf op'nly the generall Patron of moſt notorious Delinquents, and approves their flight out of the Land, whoſe crimes were ſuch, as that the juſteſt and the faireſt tryal would have ſooneſt condemn'd them to death. But did not *Catiline* plead in like manner againſt the *Roman* Senat and the injuſtice of thir trial, and the Juſtice of his flight from *Rome? Cæſar* alſo, then hatching Tyranny, injected the ſame ſcrupulous demurrs to ſtop the ſentence of death in full and free Senat decreed on *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* two of *Catilines* accomplices, which were renew'd and urg'd for *Strafford.* He voutſafes to the reformation by both Kingdoms intended, no better name then *Innovation and ruine both in Church and State.* And what we would have learnt ſo gladly of him in other paſſages before, to know wherein, hee tells us now of his own accord. The expelling of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, this was *ruine to the State*, the *removing* them *root and branch*, this was *ruine to the Church.* How happy could this Nation be in ſuch a Governour who counted that thir ruin, which they thought thir deliverance, the ruin both of Church and State, which was the recovery and the ſaving of them both.

To the paſſing of thoſe Bills againſt Biſhops, how is it likely that the Houſe of Peers gave ſo hardly thir conſent, which they gave ſo eaſily before to the attaching them of High Treaſon, 12 at once, onely for proteſting that the Parlament could not act without them. Surely if their rights and privileges were thought ſo undoubted in that Houſe, as is heer maintain'd; then was that Proteſtation being meant and intended in the name of thir whole ſpiritual Order, no Treaſon: and ſo that Houſe it ſelf wil becom liable to a juſt conſtruction either of Injuſtice in them for ſo conſenting, or of uſurpation, repreſenting none but themſelves, to expect that their voting or not voting ſhould obſtruct the Commons. Who not for *five repulſes of the Lords*, no not for fifty, were to deſiſt from what in name of the whole Kingdom they demanded, ſo long as thoſe Lords were none of our Lords. And for the Bill againſt root and branch, though it paſs'd not in both Houſes till many of the Lords and ſome few of the Commons, either intic'd away by the King, or overaw'd by the ſence of thir own Malignancy not prevailing, deſerted the Parlament: and made a fair riddance of themſelves, that was no warrant for them who remain'd faithfull, beeing farr the greater number, to lay aſide that Bill of root and branch, till the returne of thir fugitives; a Bill ſo neceſſary and ſo much deſir'd by themſelves as well as by the People.

This was the *partiality*, this degrading of the Biſhops, a thing ſo wholeſom in the State, and ſo Orthodoxal in the Church both ancient and reformed, which the King rather then aſſent to, *will either hazard both his owne and the Kingdomes ruin*, by our juſt defence againſt his force of armes, or *proſtrat our conſciences in a blind obedience to himſelf, and thoſe men whoſe ſuperſtition Zealous* or unzealous would inforce upon us an Antichriſtian tyranny in the Church,

neither *Primitive, Apostolicall,* nor more *anciently universal,* then som other manifest corruptions.

But *he was bound besides his judgment by a most strict and undispensable Oath to preserve that Order and the rights of the Church.* If he mean the Oath of his Coronation, and that the letter of that Oath admit not to be interpreted either by equity, reformation, or better knowledge, then was the King bound by that Oath to grant the clergie all those customs, franchises, and Canonical privileges granted to them by *Edward* the Confessor; and so might one day, under pretence of that Oath, and his conscience, have brought us all again to Popery. But had he so well remembred, as he ought, the words to which he swore, he might have found himself no otherwise oblig'd there, then *according to the lawes of God and true profession of the Gospel.* For if those following words, *Establish'd in this Kingdome,* be set there to limit and lay prescription on the Laws of God and truth of the Gospel by mans establishment, nothing can be more absurd or more injurious to Religion. So that however the German Emperors, or other Kings have levied all those Warrs on thir Protestant Subjects under the colour of a blind and litteral observance to an Oath, yet this King had least pretence of all. Nor is it to be imagin'd, if what shall be establish'd come in question, but that the Parlament should oversway the King, and not he the Parlament. And by all Law and Reason that which the Parlament will not, is no more establish'd in this Kingdom, neither is the King bound by Oath to uphold it as a thing establish'd.

Had he gratifi'd, he thinks, *their Antiepiscopal Faction with his consent, and sacrific'd the Church-government and Revennues to the fury of their covetousness, &c.* an Army had not bin rais'd. Wheras it was the fury of his own hatred to the professors of true Religion,

which firſt incited him to perſecute them with Sword of Warr, when Whipps, Pillories, Exiles Impris'nments were not thought ſufficient. To lour which, he cannot finde wherewithall, but ſtale pretence of *Charles* the fifth, and other Po Kings, that the Proteſtants had onely an inter lay hands on the Church-revennues, a thing nev the thoughts of this Parlament, til exhauſted by endleſs Warr upon them, thir neceſſity ſeis'd on for the Common-wealth, which the luxury of lats had abus'd before to a common miſcheif.

His conſent to the unlording of Biſhops (fo that he himſelf conſented, and at *Canterbury* cheif ſeat of thir pride, ſo God would have it) *from his firme perſwaſion of thir contentedneſs to* a *preſent diminution of their rights.* Can any reading this, not diſcern the pure mockery of a F conſent, to delude us onely for *the preſent*, mean it ſeems, when time ſhould ſerve, to revoke all this reckning his conſents and his denials com to one paſs: and wee may hence perceav the dom and the integrity of thoſe Votes which V his Conceſſions at the Ile of *Wight*, for grounds laſting Peace. This hee alleges, this contro about Biſhops, *to be the true ſtate* of that diffe between him and the Parlament. For he held copacy *both very Sacred and Divine.* With judgement and for this cauſe he withdrew fron Parlament, and confeſſes that ſome men knew *h like to bring againe the ſame judgement which he ried with him.* A fair and unexpected juſtific from his own mouth afforded to the Parlament, notwithſtanding what they knew of his obſtinat n omitted not to uſe all thoſe meanes and that pat to have gain'd him.

As for Delinquents, *he allowes them to be bu neceſſary conſequences of his and their withdrawin*

lefending. A pretty ſhift to mince the name of a lelinquent into a neceſſary conſequent: what is a Traitor but the neceſſary conſequence of his Treaſon, what a Rebell, but of his Rebellion? . From this conceit he would inferr a *pretext* onely in the Parlanent *to fetch in delinquents*, as if there had indeed bin no ſuch cauſe, but all the delinquency in London tumults. Which is the overworn theme, and ſtuffng of all his diſcourſes.

This he thrice repeates to be the true State and reaſon of all that Warr and devaſtation in the Land, and that *of all the Treaties and Propoſitions* offerd him, he was reſolv'd *never to grant the aboliſhing of epiſcobal, or the eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian Goverment*. I would demand now of the *Scots* and Covnanteers (For ſo I call them as miſobſervers of the Cov'nant) how they will reconcile *the preſervation of Religion and their liberties, and the bringing of delinquents to condign puniſhment*, with the *freedom, honour and ſafety* of this vow'd reſolution here, that eſteems all the Zeale of thir proſtituted Covnant no better then *a noiſe and ſhew of pietie, a heat for reformation, filling them with prejudice and obſtructing all equality and clearneſs of judgment in them*. With theſe principles who knows but that at length he might have come to take the Covnant, as others, whom they Brotherly admitt, have don before him; and then all, no doubt, had gon well, and ended in a happy peace.

His prayer is moſt of it borrow'd out of *David;* but what if it be anſwerd him as the *Jews*, who truſted in *Moſes*, were anſwerd by our *Saviour*. There is one that accuſeth you, eev'n *David* whom you miſapply.

He tells God *that his Enemies are many*, but tells the people, when it ſerves his turn, they are but *a faction of ſome few, prevailing over the Major part of both Houſes*.

God knows he had no paſſion, deſigne or preparation to imbroyle his Kingdom in a civill Warr. True; for he thought his Kingdom to be *Iſſachar* a *ſtrong Aſs that* would have *couch'd downe between two burd'ns,* the one of prelatical ſuperſtition, the other of civil tyrannie: but what paſſion and deſigne, what cloſe and op'n preparation he had made, to ſubdue us to both theſe by terror and preventive force, all the Nation knows.

The *confidence of ſome Men had almoſt perſwaded him to ſuſpect his own innocence.* As the words of Saint *Paul* had almoſt perſwaded *Agrippa* to be a Chriſtian. But almoſt in the work of repentance is as good as Not at all.

God, ſaith he, *will find out bloody and deceitfull men, many of whom have not liv'd out halfe thir days.* It behoov'd him to have bin more cautious how he tempted Gods finding out of blood and deceit, till his own yeares had bin furder ſpent, or that he had enjoy'd longer *the fruits of his* own *violent Counſels.*

But in ſtead of warineſs, he adds another temptation, charging God *To know that the chief deſigne of this Warr was either to deſtroy his Perſon or to force his judgement.* And thus his prayer from the evil practice of unjuſt accuſing men to God, ariſes to the hideous raſhneſs of accuſing God before Men to know that for truth, which all Men know to be moſt fals.

He praies *That God would forgive the People, for they know not what they doe.* It is an eaſie matter to ſay over what our Saviour ſaid; but how he lov'd the People, other Arguments then affected ſayings muſt demonſtrat. He who ſo oft hath preſum'd raſhly to appeale the knowledge and teſtimony of God, in things ſo evidently untrue, may be douted what beleif or eſteem he had of his forgiveneſs, either to himſelf, or thoſe for whom he would ſo fain that men ſhould hear he pray'd.

X. *Upon their ſeizing the Magazins, Forts*, &c.

TO put the matter ſooneſt out of controverſy who was the firſt beginner of this civil Warr, ſince the beginning of all Warr may be diſcern'd not onely by the firſt Act of hoſtilitie, but by the Counſels and preparations foregoing, it ſhall evidently appeare, that the King was ſtill formoſt in all theſe. No King had ever at his firſt comming to the Crown, more love and acclamation from a people; never any people found wors requital of thir Loyaltie and good affection: Firſt by his extraordinary feare and miſtruſt that their Liberties and Rights were the impairing and deminiſhing of his regal power, the true Original of Tyranny: Next by his hatred to all thoſe who were eſteem'd Religious; doubting that thir principles too much aſſerted libertie. This was quickly ſeen by the vehemence, and the cauſes alleg'd of his perſecuting, the other by his frequent and opprobrious diſſolution of Parlaments; after he had demanded more Mony of them, and they to obtain thir rights had granted him, then would have bought the *Turk* out of *Morea*, and ſet free all the Greeks. But when he ſought to extort from us, by way of Tribute, that which had bin offerd him conditionally in Parlament, as by a free People, and that thoſe extortions were now conſum'd and waſted by the luxurie of his Court, he began then (for ſtill the more he did wrong, the more he fear'd) before any Tumult or inſurrection of the People, to take counſel how he might totally ſubdue them to his own will. Then was the deſigne of German Horſe, and Soldiers billeted in all parts, the Pulpits reſounded with no other Doctrine then that which gave all propertie to the King, and paſ-

ſive obedience to the ſubject. After which, innumerable formes and ſhapes of new exactions and Exacters overſpredd the Land. Nor was it anough to be impoveriſh'd, unleſs wee were diſarm'd. Our Train'd Bands, which are the truſtieſt and moſt proper ſtrength of a free Nation, had thir Armes in divers Counties tak'n from them; other Ammunition by deſigne was ingroſs'd, and kept in the Tower, not to be bought without a Licence, and at a high rate.

Thus farr, and many other waies were his Counſels and preparations before hand with us, either to a civil Warr, if it ſhould happ'n, or to ſubdue us without a Warr, which is all one, until the raiſing of his two Armies againſt the Scots, and the latter of them rais'd to the moſt perfidious breaking of a ſolemn Pacification.

After the beginning of this Parlament, whom he ſaw ſo reſolute and unanimous to releeve the Common-wealth, and that the Earle of *Strafford* was condemn'd to die, other of his evil Counſelers impeach'd and impriſon'd, to ſhew there wanted not evil counſel within himſelf ſufficient to begin a Warr upon his Subjects, though no way by them provok'd, he ſends an Agent with Letters to the King of *Denmark* requiring aid againſt the Parlament, endeavours to bring up both Armies, firſt the Engliſh, with whom 8000 Iriſh Papiſts rais'd by *Strafford*, and a *French* Army were to joyne; then the *Scots* at *Newcaſtle*, whom he thought to have encourag'd by telling them what Mony and Horſe he was to have from *Denmark*. I mention not the *Iriſh* conſpiracie till due place. Theſe and many other were his Councels toward a civil Warr. His preparations, after thoſe two Armies were diſmiſs'd could not ſuddenly be too op'n: Nevertheleſs there were 8000 *Iriſh* Papiſts which he refus'd to diſband, though intreated

by both Houſes, firſt for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, next under pretence of lending them to the *Spaniard;* and ſo kept them undiſbanded till very neere the Mounth wherin that Rebellion broke forth. He was alſo raiſing Forces in London, pretendedly to ſerve the *Portugall,* but with intent to ſeiſe the Tower. Into which diverſe Canoneers were by him ſent; the Court was fortifi'd with Ammunition, and Souldiers new liſted, who follow'd the King from *London,* and appear'd at *Kingſton* ſom hundreds of Horſe, in a warlike manner, with Waggons of Ammunition after them; the Queen in *Holland* was buying more; the Inhabitants of *Yorkſhire* and other Counties were call'd to Arms, and actual forces rais'd, while the Parlament were yet Petitioning in peace.

As to the Act of Hoſtilitie, though not much material in whom firſt it began, after ſuch Counſels and preparations diſcover'd, and ſo farr advanc'd by the King, yet in that act alſo he will be found to have had precedency, if not at *London* by the aſſault of his armed Court upon the naked People, and his attempt upon the houſe of Commons, yet certainly at *Hull,* firſt by his cloſe Practices on that Towne, next by his ſeige. Thus whether Councels, preparations, or Acts of hoſtilitie be conſidered, it appeares with evidence anough, though much more might be ſaid, that the King is truly charg'd to bee the firſt beginner of theſe civil Warrs. To which may be added as a cloſe, that in the Ile of *Wight* he charg'd it upon himſelf, at the public Treaty, and acquitted the Parlament.

But as for the ſecuring of *Hull* and the public ſtores therin, and in other places, it was no *Surpriſall of his ſtrength;* the cuſtody whereof by Autority of Parlament was committed into hands moſt fitt, and moſt reſponſible for ſuch a truſt. It were a folly

beyond ridiculous to count our ſelvs a free Nation, if the King not in Parlament, but in his own Perſon and againſt them, might appropriate to himſelf the ſtrength of a whole Nation as his proper goods. What the Lawes of the Land are, a Parlament ſhould know beſt, having both the life and death of Lawes in thir Lawgiving power: And the Law of England is at beſt but the reaſon of Parlament. The Parlament therfore taking into thir hands that wherof moſt properly they ought to have the keeping, committed no ſurpriſal. If they prevented him, that argu'd not at all either *his innocency or unpreparedneſs*, but their timely foreſight to uſe prevention.

But what needed that? *They knew his chiefeſt Armes left him were thoſe onely which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt thir Perſecuters, Prayers and Teares.* O ſacred Reverence of God, Reſpect and Shame of Men, whither were yee fled, when theſe hypocriſies were utterd? Was the Kingdom then, at all that coſt of blood to remove from him none but Praiers and Teares? What were thoſe thouſands of blaſpheming Cavaliers about him, whoſe mouthes let fly Oaths and Curſes by the voley; were thoſe the Praiers? and thoſe Carouſes drunk to the confuſion of all things good or holy, did thoſe miniſter the Teares? Were they Praiers and Teares that were liſted at *York*, muſter'd on *Heworth* Moore, and laid Seige to *Hull* for the guard of his Perſon? Were Praiers and Teares at ſo high a rate in *Holland* that nothing could purchaſe them but the Crown Jewells? Yet they in *Holland* (ſuch word was ſent us) ſold them for Gunns, Carabins, Morter-peeces, Canons, and other deadly Inſtruments of Warr, which when they came to *York*, were all no doubt by the merit of ſome great Saint, ſuddenly transform'd into Praiers and Teares, and being divided into Regiments and Brigads were the onely Armes that miſchiev'd us in all thoſe Battels and Incounters.

Theſe were his chief Armes, whatever we muſt all them, and yet ſuch Armes, as they who fought or the Common-wealth have by the helpe of better raiers vanquiſh'd and brought to nothing.

He bewailes his want of the Militia *Not ſo much n reference to his own protection as the Peoples, whoſe nany and ſore oppreſſions greeve him.* Never conſi-lering how ill for ſeventeen yeares together hee ad protected them, and that theſe miſeries of the eople are ſtill his own handy work, having ſmitt'n hem like a forked Arrow ſo ſore into the Kingdoms ides, as not to be drawn out and cur'd without the nciſion of more fleſh.

He tells us that *what he wants in the hands of power* e has in *the wings of Faith and Prayer.* But they who made no reckning of thoſe Wings while they ad that power in thir hands, may eaſily miſtake the Wings of Faith for the Wings of Preſumption, and o fall headlong.

We meet next with a compariſon, how apt let hem judge that have travell'd to *Mecca, That the Parlament have hung the majeſtie of Kingſhip in an airy imagination of regality between the Privileges of both Houſes, like the Tombe of Mahomet.* Hee knew not hat he was prophecying the death and burial of a Turkiſh Tyranny, that ſpurn'd down thoſe Laws, which gave it life and being ſo long as it endur'd to e a regulated Monarchy.

He counts it an injury *Not to have the ſole power in himſelf to help or hurt any;* and that the *Militia which he holds to be his undoubted Right ſhould be diſpos'd as the Parlament thinks fitt.* And yet confeſſes that if he had it in his actual diſpoſing, he would defend hoſe whom he calls *His good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who would perſwade the World that none but Wolves are fitt to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepherd and his Flock.* Surely if we may gueſs

whom he meanes heer, by knowing whom he hath ever moſt oppos'd in this controverſie, we may then aſſure our ſelvs that by violence and fraud he meanes that which the Parlament hath don in ſettling the Militia, and thoſe the Wolves, into whoſe hands it was by them intruſted: Which drawes a clear confeſſion from his own mouth, that if the Parlament had left him ſole power of the *Militia*, he would have us'd it to the deſtruction of them and thir Friends.

As for ſole power of the *Militia*, which he claimes as a Right no leſs undoubted then the Crown, it hath bin oft anough told him, that he hath no more autority over the ſword then over the law; over the Law he hath none, either to eſtabliſh or to abrogate, to interpret, or to execute, but onely by his Courts and in his Courts, wherof the Parlament is higheſt, no more therfore hath he power of the *Militia* which is the Sword, either to uſe or to diſpoſe, but with conſent of Parlament; give him but that, and as good give him all our Laws and Liberties. For if the power of the Sword were any where ſeparate and undepending from the power of Law, which is originally ſeated in the higheſt Court, then were that power of the Sword higher then the power of Law, and being at one mans diſpoſal, might, when he pleas'd, controule the Law, and enſlave us. Such power as this did the King in op'n termes challenge to have over us; and brought thouſands to help him win it; ſo much more good at fighting then at underſtanding; as to perſwade themſelves that they fought then for the Subjects Libertie.

He is contented, becauſe he knowes no other remedy, to reſigne this power, *for his owne time, but not for his ſucceſſors*. So diligent and carefull he is that we ſhould be ſlaves, if not to him, yet to his Poſterity, and faine would leave us the legacy of

another Warr about it. But the Parlament have don well to remove that queſtion: whom as his manner is to dignify with ſome good name or other, he calls now *a many headed hydra of Goverment, full of factious diſtractions and not more eyes then mouths.* Yet ſurely not more Mouths, or not ſo wide, as the diſſolute rabble of all his Courtiers had, both Hees and Shees, if ther were any Males among them.

He would prove that to govern by Parlament hath *a monſtroſitie rather then perfection;* and grounds his argument upon two or three eminent abſurdities: Firſt by placing Councell in the ſenſes, next by turning the ſenſes out of the head, and in lieu therof placing power, *ſupreme* above ſenſe and reaſon; which be now the greater Monſtroſities? Furder to diſpute what kind of Goverment is beſt, would be a long theme, it ſufficeth that his reaſons heer for Monarchy are found weake and inconſiderable.

He bodes *much horror and bad influence after his ecclips.* He ſpeakes his wiſhes: But they who by weighing prudently things paſt, foreſee things to come, the beſt Divination, may hope rather all good ſucceſs and happineſs by removing that darkneſs which the miſtie cloud of his prerogative made between us and a peacefull Reformation, which is our true Sun light, and not he, though he would be tak'n for our ſun it ſelf. And wherfore ſhould we not hope to be Govern'd more happily without a King when as all our miſerie, and trouble hath bin either by a King, or by our neceſſary vindication and defence againſt him.

He would be thought *inforc'd to Perjurie* by having granted the Militia, by which his Oath bound him to protect the People. If he can be perjur'd in granting that, why doth he refuſe for no other cauſe the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy? But never was any Oath ſo blind as to ſweare him to protect Delin-

quents againſt Juſtice, but to protect all the people in that order, and by thoſe hands which the Parlament ſhould adviſe him to, and the protected confide in; and not under the ſhew of protection to hold a violent and incommunicable Sword over us, as readie to be let fall upon our own necks, as upon our Enemies; nor to make our own hands and weapons fight againſt our own Liberties.

By his parting with the *Militia* he takes to himſelfe much praiſe of his *aſſurance in Gods protection*; and to the Parlament imputes the feare *of not daring to adventure the injuſtice of their actions upon any other way of ſafety*. But wherfore came not this aſſurance of Gods protection to him, till the *Militia* was wrung out of his hands, it ſhould ſeem by his holding it ſo faſt, that his own actions and intentions had no leſs of injuſtice in them, then what he charges upon others; whom he termes *Chaldeans, Sabeans, and the Devill himſelf*. But *Job* us'd no ſuch *Militia* againſt thoſe enemies, nor ſuch a Magazin as was at *Hull*, which this King ſo contended for, and made Warr upon us, that he might have wherwithall to make Warr againſt us.

He concludes, that *Although they take all from him yet can they not obſtruct his way to Heav'n*. It was no handſom occaſion, by faining obſtructions where they are not, to tell us whither he was going: he ſhould have ſhut the dore, and pray'd in ſecret, not heer in the High Street. Privat praiers in public, aſk ſomething of whom they aſk not, and that ſhall be thir reward.

:I. *Upon the Nineteen Propoſitions*, &c.

OF the Nineteen Propoſitions he names none in particular, neither ſhall the Anſwer. But he inſiſts upon the old Plea of *his Conſcience, honour, and Reaſon;* uſing the ıſibility of large and indefinite words, to defend ıſelf at ſuch a diſtance as may hinder the eye of ımon judgement from all diſtinct view and exa-ıation of his reaſoning. *He would buy the peace :is People at any rate ſave onely the parting with his ſcience and Honour.* Yet ſhews not how it can ıp'n that the peace of a People, if otherwiſe to be ght at any rate, ſhould be inconſiſtent or at va-ıce with the Conſcience and Honour of a King. l then, wee may receave it for a better ſentence, t nothing ſhould be more agreeable to the Con-nce and Honour of a King, then to preſerve his ıjects in peace; eſpecially from civil Warr.

\nd which of the Propoſitions were *obtruded on with the point of the Sword*, till hee firſt with the nt of the Sword thruſt from him both the Propo-ɔns and the Propounders? He never reck'ns thoſe lent and mercileſs obtruſions which for almoſt :nty yeares he had bin forcing upon tender con-:nces by all ſorts of Perſecution; till through the ltitude of them that were to ſuffer, it could no re be call'd a Perſecution, but a plain Warr. ɔm which when firſt the Scots, then the Engliſh re conſtrain'd to defend themſelves, this thir juſt ence is that which hee calls heer, *Thir making Warr n his ſoule.*

He grudges that *So many things are requir'd of ', and nothing offer'd him in requitall of thoſe favours ich he had granted.* What could ſatiat the deſires this Man, who being King of *England*, and Maiſ-

ter of almoſt two Millions yearely, was ſtill in want; and thoſe acts of Juſtice which hee was to doe in duty, counts don as favors; and ſuch favors as were not don without the avaritious hope of other rewards beſides ſupreme honour, and the conſtant Revenue of his place.

This honour, he ſaith, *they did him to put him on the giving part*. And ſpake truer than he intended, it beeing meerly for honours ſake that they did ſo; not that it belong'd to him of right. For what can he give to a Parlament who receaves all he hath from the People, and for the Peoples good. Yet now he brings his own conditionall rights to conteſt, and be preferr'd before the Peoples good, and yet unleſs it be in order to their good, he hath no rights at all; raigning by the Laws of the Land, not by his own; which Laws are in the hands of Parlament to change or abrogate as they ſhall ſee beſt for the Common-wealth; eev'n to the taking away of King-ſhip it ſelf, when it growes too Maiſterfull and Burd'nſome. For every Common-wealth is in general defin'd, a ſocietie ſufficient of it ſelf, in all things conducible to well beeing and commodious life. Any of which requiſit things if it cannot have without the gift and favour of a ſingle perſon, or without leave of his privat reaſon, or his conſcience, it cannot be thought ſufficient of it ſelfe, and by conſequence no Common-wealth, nor free; but a multitude of Vaſſalls in the Poſſeſſion and domaine of one abſolute Lord; and wholly obnoxious to his will. If the King have power to give or deny any thing to his Parlament, he muſt doe it either as a Perſon ſeveral from them or as one greater; neither of which will be allow'd him; nor to be conſider'd ſeverally from them; for as the King of England can doe no wrong, ſo neither can he doe right but in his Courts and by his Courts; and what is legally don in them, ſhall be deem'd the

Kings aſſent, though he as a ſeveral Perſon ſhall judge or endeavour the contrary. So that indeed without his Courts or againſt them, he is no King. If therefore he obtrude upon us any public miſcheif, or withhold from us any general good, which is wrong in the higheſt degree, he muſt doe it as a Tyrant, not as a King of England, by the known Maxims of our Law. Neither can hee as one greater give aught to the Parlament which is not in thir own power, but hee muſt be greater alſo then the kingdom which they repreſent. So that to honour him with the giving part was a meer civility, and may be well term'd the courteſie of *England*, not the Kings due.

But the *incommunicable Jewell of his conſcience* he will not give, *but reſerve to himſelf*. It ſeemes that his conſcience was none of the Crown Jewels; for thoſe we know were, in *Holland*, not incommunicable to buy Armes againſt his Subjects. Being therfore but a privat Jewel, he could not have don a greater pleaſure to the Kingdom then by reſerving it to himſelf. But hee, contrary to what is heer profeſs'd, would have his conſcience not an incommunicable, but a univerſal conſcience, the whole Kingdoms conſcience. Thus what hee ſeems to ſeare leaſt we ſhould raviſh from him, is our cheif complaint that hee obtruded upon us; we never forc'd him to part with his conſcience, but it was hee that would have forc'd us to part with ours.

Som things he taxes them to have offer'd him, *which while he had the maiſtery of his Reaſon he would never conſent to*. Very likely; but had his reaſon maiſterd him, as it ought, and not bin maiſterd long agoe by his ſenſe and humour (as the breeding of moſt Kings hath bin ever ſenſual and moſt humour'd) perhaps he would have made no difficulty. Mean while at what a fine paſs is the Kingdom, that muſt

depend in greateſt exigencies upon the fantaſie of a Kings reaſon, be hee wiſe or foole, who arrogantly ſhall anſwer all the wiſdom of the Land, that what they offer ſeemes to him unreaſonable.

He preferrs his *love of Truth* before his love of the People. His love of Truth would have ledd him to the ſearch of Truth, and have taught him not to lean ſo much upon his own underſtanding. Hee met at firſt with Doctrines of unaccountable Prerogative; in them hee reſted, becauſe they pleas'd him; they therfore pleas'd him becauſe they gave him all; and this he calls his love of Truth, and preferrs it before the love of his peoples peace.

Som things they propos'd *which would have wounded the inward peace of his conſcience*. The more our evil happ, that three Kingdoms ſhould be thus peſterd with one Conſcience; who chiefly ſcrupl'd to grant us that, which the Parlament advis'd him to, as the cheif meanes of our public welfare and Reformation. Theſe ſcruples to many perhaps ſeem pretended, to others, upon as good grounds, may ſeem real; and that it was the juſt judgement of God, that he who was ſo cruel and ſo remorceleſs to other mens conſciences, ſhould have a conſcience within him as cruel to himſelf; conſtraining him, as hee conſtrain'd others, and inſnaring him in ſuch waies and counſels, as were certain to be his deſtruction.

Other things though he could approve, yet in honour and policy he thought fit to deny, leſt he ſhould ſeem to dare deny nothing. By this meanes he will be ſure, what with reaſon, conſcience, honour, policy, or puntilios, to be found never unfurniſht of a denyall: Whether it were his envy, not to be over-bounteous, or that the ſubmiſſneſs of our aſking ſtirr'd up in him a certain pleaſure of denying. Good Princes have thought it thir chief happineſs to be alwayes granting; if good things, for the things ſake; if

things indifferent for the peoples ſake, while this man ſits calculating varietie of excuſes how he may grant leaſt; as if his whole ſtrength and royaltie were plac'd in a meer negative.

Of one Propoſition eſpecially he laments him much, that they would bind him *to a generall and implicit conſent for what ever they deſir'd.* Which though I finde not among the nineteene, yet undoubtedly the Oath of his coronation binds him to no leſs; neither is he at all by his Office to interpoſe againſt a Parlament in the making or not making of any Law; but to take that for juſt and good legally, which is there decreed, and to ſee it executed accordingly. Nor was he ſet over us to vie wiſdom with his Parlament, but to be guided by them: *any of whome poſſibly* may as farr excell him in the gift of wiſdom, as he them in place and dignitie. But much neerer is it to impoſſibilitie that any King alone ſhould be wiſer then all his counſel; ſure anough it was not he, though no King ever before him ſo much contended to have it thought ſo. And if the Parlament ſo thought not, but deſir'd him to follow their advice and deliberation in things of public concernment, he accounts it the ſame propoſition, as if *Sampſon* had bin mov'd *to the putting out his eyes, that the Philiſtims might abuſe him;* And thus out of an unwiſe, or pretended feare leaſt others ſhould make a ſcorn of him for yeilding to his Parlament, he regards not to give cauſe of worſe ſuſpition that he made a ſcorn of his regal Oath.

But *to exclude him from all power of deniall ſeemes an arrogance;* in the Parlament he meanes; what in him then to deny againſt the Parlament? None at all, by what he argues: For *by Petitioning they confeſs thir inferioritie and that obliges them to reſt, if not ſatisfi'd, yet quieted with ſuch an Anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superior thinks fit to give.* Firſt

Petitioning, in better Engliſh, is no more then requeſting or requiring, and men require not favours onely, but thir due; and that not onely from Superiors, but from Equals, and Inferiors alſo. The nobleſt Romans, when they ſtood for that which was a kind of Regal honour, the Conſulſhip, were wont in a ſubmiſſive manner to goe about and begg that higheſt Dignity of the meaneſt *Plebeians*, naming them man by man; which in their tongue was call'd *Petitio conſulatus*. And the Parlament of *England* Petition'd the King, not becauſe all of them were inferior to him, but becauſe he was ſuperior to any one of them, which they did of civil cuſtom, and for faſhions ſake, more then of duty; for by plaine Law cited before, the Parlament is his Superiour.

But what law in any trial or diſpute enjoyns a free man to reſt quieted, though not ſatisfi'd with the will and reaſon of his ſuperior? It were a mad law that would ſubject reaſon to ſuperioritie of place. And if our higheſt conſultations and purpos'd lawes muſt be terminated by the Kings will, then is the will of one man our Law, and no ſuttletie of diſpute can redeem the Parlament, and Nation from being Slaves: neither can any Tyrant require more then that his will or reaſon, though not ſatisfying, ſhould yet be reſted in, and determin all things. We may conclude therfore that when the Parlament Petition'd the King it was but meerly forme, let it be as *fooliſh and abſur'd* as he pleaſes. It cannot certainly be ſo abſur'd as what hee requires, that the Parlament ſhould confine thir own and all the Kingdoms reaſon to the will of one man becauſe it was his hap to ſucceed his Father. For neither God nor the Lawes have ſubjected us to his will; nor ſett his reaſon to be our Sovran above Law (which muſt needs be, if he can ſtrangle it in the birth) but ſett his perſon over us in the ſovran execution of ſuch Lawes as the Parla-

ment eſtabliſh. The Parlament therefore without any uſurpation hath had it alwaies in thir power to limit and confine the exorbitancie of Kings whether they call it thir will, thir reaſon, or thir conſcience.

But this above all was never expected, nor is to be endur'd, that a King who is bound by law, and Oath to follow the advice of his Parlament, ſhould be permitted to except againſt them as *young Stateſmen*, and proudly to ſuſpend his following thir advice, *untill his ſeven yeares experience had ſhewn him how well they could govern themſelves.* Doubtleſs the Law never ſuppos'd ſo great an arrogance could be in one man; that hee whoſe ſeventeen yeares unexperience had almoſt ruin'd all, ſhould ſit another ſeven yeares Schoolmaſter, to tutor thoſe who were ſent by the whole Realme to be his Counſelers and Teachers. And with what modeſty can hee pretend to be a Stateſman himſelf, who with his Fathers Kingcraft and his own, did never that of his own accord which was not directly oppoſit to his profeſſed Intereſt both at home and abroad; diſcontenting and alienating his Subjects at home, weakning and deſerting his Confederats abroad, and with them the Common cauſe of Religion. So that the whole courſe of his raign by an example of his own furniſhing hath reſembled *Phaeton* more then *Phœbus;* and forc'd the Parlament to drive like *Jehu;* which *Omen* tak'n from his own mouth, God hath not diverted.

And he on the otherſide might have rememberd that the Parlament ſit in that body, not *as his Subjects* but as his Superiors, call'd, not by him, but by the Law; not onely twice every yeare, but as oft as great affaires require, *to be his Counſelers and Dictators* though he ſtomac it, nor to be diſſolv'd at his pleaſure, but when all greevances be firſt remov'd, all Petitions heard, and anſwer'd. This is not onely Reaſon but the known Law of the Land.

When he heard that Propoſitions would be ſent him, he ſate conjecturing what they would propound, and becauſe they propounded what hee expected not, he takes that to be a warrant for his denying them. But what did he expect? he expected that the Parlament would reinforce *ſome old Laws.* But if thoſe Laws were not a ſufficient remedy to all greevances, nay were found to be greevances themſelves, when did we looſe that other part of our freedom to eſtabliſh new? He thought *ſome injuries don by himſelf and others to the Common-wealth were to be repair'd.* But how could that be, while hee the chief offender took upon him to be ſole Judge both of the injury and the reparation. *He ſtaid till the advantage of his Crown conſider'd might induce him to condiſcend to the Peoples good.* When as the Crown it ſelf with all thoſe advantages were therfore giv'n him, that the peoples good ſhould be firſt conſider'd; not bargain'd for, and bought by inches with the bribe of more *offertures* and advantages to his Crown. He look'd *for moderate deſires of due Reformation;* as if any ſuch deſires could be immoderate: Hee look'd for ſuch a Reformation, *both in Church and State as might preſerve* the roots of every greevance, and abuſe in both ſtill growing (which he calls *The foundation and eſſentials*) and would have onely the excreſcencies of evil prun'd away for the preſent, as was plotted before, that they might grow faſt anough between Triennial Parlaments, to hinder them by work anough beſides, from ever ſtriking at the root. He alleges, *They ſhould have had regard to the Laws in force, to the wiſdom and pietie of former Parlaments to the ancient and univerſall practice of Chriſtian Churches.* As if they who come with full autority to redreſs public greevances, which ofttimes are Laws themſelves, were to have thir hands bound by Laws in force, or the ſuppoſition of more pietie and wiſdom in thir

Anceſtors, or the practice of Churches heertofore, whoſe Fathers, notwithſtanding all theſe pretences, made as vaſt alterations to free themſelves from ancient Popery. For all antiquity that adds or varies from the Scripture, is no more warranted to our ſafe imitation then what was don the Age before at *Trent*. Nor was there need to have diſpair'd of what could be eſtabliſh'd in lieu of what was to be annull'd, having before his eyes the Goverment of ſo many Churches beyond the Seas; whoſe pregnant and ſolid reaſons wrought ſo with the Parlament, as to deſire a uniformity rather with all other Proteſtants, then to be a Sciſm divided from them under a conclave of thirty Biſhops, and a crew of irreligious Prieſts, that gap'd for the ſame preferment.

And wheras he blames thoſe propoſitions for not containing what they ought, what did they mention, but to vindicate and *reſtore the Rights of Parlament invaded* by Cabin councels, the Courts of *Juſtice obſtructed, and the Goverment* of Church innovated and corrupted? All theſe things he might eaſily have obſerv'd in them, which he affirmes he could not find: but found *thoſe demanding* in Parlament who were *lookt upon before, as factious in the State, and ſciſmaticall in the Church; and demanding not onely Tolerations for themſelves in thir vanity, noveltie and confuſion, but alſo an extirpation of that Goverment whoſe Rights they had a mind to invade.* Was this man ever likely to be advis'd, who with ſuch a prejudice and diſeſteem ſets himſelf againſt his chos'n and appointed Counſelers; likely ever to admit of Reformation, who cenſures all the Goverment of other Proteſtant Churches, as bad as any Papiſt could have cenſur'd them? And what King had ever his whole Kingdom in ſuch contempt, ſo to wrong and diſhonour the free elections of his people, as to judge them whom the Nation thought worthieſt to ſitt with him

in Parlament, few els but ſuch as were *puniſhable by the Lawes:* yet knowing that time was, when to be a Proteſtant, to be a Chriſtian was by Law as puniſhable as to be a Traitor, and that our Saviour himſelf comming to reform his Church, was accus'd of an intent to invade *Cæſars* right, as good a right as the prelat Biſhops ever had; the one being got by force, the other by ſpiritual uſurpation: and both by force upheld.

He admires and falls into an extaſie that the Parlament ſhould ſend him ſuch a *horrid Propoſition*, as the removal of Epiſcopacy. But expect from him in an extaſie no other reaſons of his admiration then the dream and tautology of what he hath ſo oft repeated, Law, Antiquitie, Anceſtors, proſperity and the like, which will be therfore not worth a ſecond anſwer, but may paſs with his own compariſon *Into the common ſewer* of other Popiſh arguments.

Had the two Houſes ſu'd out their Liverie from the wardſhip of Tumults, he could ſooner have beleiv'd them. It concern'd them firſt to ſue out thir Livery from the unjuſt wardſhip of his encroaching Prerogative. And had he alſo redeem'd his overdated minority from a Pupillage under Biſhops, he would much leſs have miſtruſted his Parlament; and never would have ſet ſo baſe a Character upon them as to count them no better then the Vaſſals of certain nameleſs men whom he charges to be ſuch as *hunt after Faction with their Hounds the Tumults.* And yet the Biſhops could have told him, that *Nimrod*, the firſt that hunted after faction, is reputed, by ancient Tradition, the firſt that founded Monarchy; whence it appeares that to hunt after Faction is more properly the Kings Game, and thoſe Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have bin oft'n hollow'd to from Court; of whom the mungrel ſort have bin entic'd; the reſt have not loſt thir ſent; but underſtood aright,

that the Parlament had *that part to act* which he had fail'd in: that *trust to discharge*, which he had brok'n; that *estate and honour to preserve*, which was farr beyond his; the estate of honour of the Common-wealth, which he had imbezl'd.

Yet so farr doth self-opinion or fals principles delude and transport him, as to think *the concurrence of his reason* to the Votes of Parlament, not onely Political, but Natural, *and as necessary to the begetting*, or bringing forth of any one *compleat act of public wisdom as the Suns influence is necessary to all natures productions*. So that the Parlament, it seems, is but a Female, and without his procreative reason can produce no Law: Wisdom, it seems, to a King is natural, to a Parlament not natural, but by conjunction with the King: Yet he professes to hold his Kingly right by Law; and if no Law could be made but by the great Counsel of a Nation, which we now term a Parlament, then certainly it was a Parlament that first created Kings, and not onely made Laws before a King was in being, but those Laws especially, whereby he holds his Crown. He ought then to have so thought of a Parlament, if he count it not Male, as of his Mother, which to civil being created both him, and the Royalty he wore. And if it hath bin anciently interpreted the presaging signe of a future Tyrant, but to dream of copulation with his Mother, what can it be less than actual Tyranny to affirme waking, that the Parlament, which is his Mother, can neither conceive or bring forth *any autoritative Act* without his Masculine coition: Nay that his reason is as Celestial and life-giving to the Parlament, as the Suns influence is to the Earth: What other notions but these, or such like, could swell up *Caligula* to think himself a God.

But to be ridd of these mortifying Propositions he leaves no tyrannical evasion unassaid; first *that they are*

not the joint and free desires of both Houses or the major part, next, *that the choise of many Members was carried on by Faction.* The former of these is already discover'd to be an old device put first in practice by *Charles* the fifth since Reformation. Who when the Protestants of *Germany* for thir own defense join'd themselves in League, in his Declarations and Remonstrances laid the fault only upon some few (for it was dangerous to take notice of too many Enemies) and accus'd them that under colour of Religion they had a purpose to invade his and the Churches right: by which policy he deceav'd many of the German Citties, and kept them divided from that League, untill they saw themselves brought into a snare. That other cavil against the peoples chois puts us in mind rather what the Court was wont to doe, and how to tamper with Elections: neither was there at that time any Faction more potent, or more likely to doe such a business, then they themselves who complain most.

But *he must chew such Morsels as Propositions ere he let them down.* So let him; but if the Kingdom shall tast nothing but after his chewing, what does he make of the Kingdom, but a great baby. *The streitness of his conscience will not give him leave* to *swallow down such Camels of sacrilege and injustice as others doe.* This is the Pharisee up and down, *I am not as other men are.* But what Camels of Injustice hee could devoure, all his three Realms were wittness, which was the cause that they almost perish'd for want of Parlaments. And he that will be unjust to man, will be sacrilegious to God; and to bereave a Christian conscience of libertie for no other reason then the narrowness of his own conscience, is the most unjust measure to man, and the worst sacrilege to God. That other, which he calls sacrilege, of taking from the Clergy that superfluous wealth, which an-

iquitie as old as *Conſtantine*, from the credit of a Di-
ine viſion, counted *poyſon in the Church*, hath bin
ver moſt oppos'd by men whoſe righteouſneſs in
ther matters hath bin leaſt obſerv'd. He concludes,
s his manner is, with high commendation of his
wn *unbiaſs'd rectitude* and beleives nothing to be in
hem that diſſent from him, but faction, innovation,
nd particular deſignes. Of theſe repetitions I find
o end, no not in his prayer; which being founded
pon deceitfull principl's, and a fond hope that God
vill bleſs him in thoſe *his errors*, which he calls *ho-
eſt*, finds a fitt anſwer of S. *James; Yee aſke and re-
eave not, becauſe yee aſke amiſs.* As for the truth
nd ſinceritie which he praies may be alwaies found
n thoſe his Declarations to the people, the contra-
iety of his own actions will bear eternal witneſs
ow little carefull or ſolicitous he was, what he pro-
nis'd, or what he utterd there.

XII. *Upon the Rebellion in* Ireland.

THe Rebellion and horrid maſſacher of Eng-
liſh Proteſtants in *Ireland*, to the number
of 154000 by thir own computation, al-
though *ſo ſudden, and ſo violent*, as at firſt
o amaze all men that were not acceſſory, yet from
vhom, and from what counſels it firſt ſprung; nei-
her was, nor could be poſſibly ſo ſecret, as the con-
rivers therof blinded with vaine hope, or the deſpaire
hat other plots would ſucceed, ſuppos'd. For it
annot be imaginable that the Iriſh guided by ſo
nany ſuttle and *Italian* heads of the Romiſh party,
hould ſo farr have loſt the uſe of reaſon, and indeed
f common Senſe, as not ſupported with other
trength then thir owne, to begin a Warr ſo deſ-
perate and irreconcilable againſt both England and

Scotland at once. All other Nations, from whom they could expect aide, were bufied to the utmoft in thir own moft neceffary concernments. It remaines then that either fome autoritie or fom great affiftance promis'd them from England, was that wheron they cheifly trufted. And as it is not difficult to difcern from what inducing caufe this infurrection firft arofe, fo nether was it *hard at firft to have apply'd* fome effectual *remedy*, though not prevention. But the affurance which they had in privat, that no remedy fhould be apply'd, was, it feemes, one of the cheif reafons that drew on thir undertaking.

Seeing then the maine incitement and autority for this Rebellion muft be needs deriv'd from *England*, it will be next inquir'd who was the prime Author. The King heer denounces a malediction temporal and eternal, not fimply to the Author, but to the *malitious Author* of this blood-fhedd; and by that limitation may exempt, not himfelf onely, but perhaps the Irifh Rebells themfelves; who never will confefs to God or Man that any blood was fhed by them malitioufly; but either in the Catholic caufe, or common Liberty, or fome other fpecious Plea, which the confcience from grounds both good and evil ufually fuggefts to it felf: thereby thinking to elude the direct force of that imputation which lies upon them.

Yet he acknowledges *It fell out as a moft unhappy advantage of fome mens malice againft him:* but indeed of moft mens juft fufpicion, by finding in it no fuch wide departure or difagreement from the fcope of his former Counfels and proceedings. And that he himfelf was the Author of that Rebellion, he denies both heer and elfwhere, with many imprecations, but no folid evidence: What on the other fide againft his denyal hath bin affirm'd in three Kingdoms being heer briefly fet in view, the Reader may fo judge as he finds caufe.

This is moſt certain, that the King was ever friendly to the Iriſh Papiſts, and in his third yeare, againſt the plain advice of Parlament, like a kind of Pope, ſold them many indulgencies for Mony; and upon all occaſions advancing the Popiſh party, and negotiating under hand by Prieſts who were made his Agents, ingag'd the Iriſh Papiſts in a Warr againſt the Scotch Proteſtants. To that end he furniſh'd them, and had them train'd in Arms; and kept them up the only Army in his three Kingdoms, till the very burſt of that Rebellion. The Summer before that diſmal *October*, a Committy of moſt active Papiſts, all ſince in the head of that Rebellion, were in great favour at *White-Hall;* and admitted to many privat conſultations with the King and Queen. And to make it evident that no mean matters were the ſubject of thoſe Conferences, at their requeſt hee gave away his peculiar right to more then five Iriſh Counties, for the payment of an inconſiderable Rent. They departed not home till within two Mounths before the Rebellion; and were either from the firſt breaking out, or ſoon after, found to be the cheif Rebels themſelves. But what ſhould move the King, beſides his own inclination to Popery, and the prevalence of his Queen over him, to hold ſuch frequent and cloſe meetings with a Committy of Iriſh Papiſts in his own Houſe, while the Parlament of *England* ſate unadvis'd with, is declar'd by a Scotch Author, and of it ſelf is cleare anough. The Parlament at the beginning of that Summer, having put *Strafford* to death, impriſon'd others his chief Favorites, and driv'n the reſt to fly, the King, who had in vain tempted both the Scotch and the Engliſh Army to come up againſt the Parlament and Citty, finding no compliance anſwerable to his hope from the Proteſtant Armies, betakes himſelf laſt to the Iriſh; who had in readineſs an Army of eight thouſand Papiſts,

and a Committy heer of the ſame Religion. And with them who thought the time now come to doe eminent ſervice for the Church of *Rome* againſt a Puritan Parlament, he concludes that ſo ſoon as both Armies in *England* ſhould be diſbanded, the Iriſh ſhould appeare in Armes, maiſter all the Proteſtants, and help the King againſt his Parlament. And we need not doubt that thoſe five Counties were giv'n to the Iriſh for other reaſon then the four Northern Counties had bin a little before offer'd to the Scots. The King in *Auguſt* takes a journey into *Scotland;* and overtaking the Scotch Army then on thir way home, attempts the ſecond time to pervert them, but without ſucceſs. No ſooner comm into *Scotland*, but he laies a plot, ſo ſaith the Scotch Author, to remove out of the way ſuch of the Nobility there, as were moſt likely to withſtand, or not to furder his deſignes. This being diſcover'd, he ſends from his ſide one *Dillon* a Papiſt Lord, ſoon after a cheif Rebell, with Letters into *Ireland;* and diſpatches a Commiſſion under the great Seale of *Scotland* at that time in his own cuſtody, commanding that they ſhould forthwith, as had bin formerly agreed, cauſe all the Iriſh to riſe in Armes. Who no ſooner had receiv'd ſuch command, but obey'd; and began in Maſſacher, for they knew no other way to make ſure the Proteſtants, which was commanded them expreſſly; and the way, it ſeems, left to thir diſcretion. He who hath a mind to read the Commiſſion it ſelf, and ſound reaſon added why it was not likely to be forg'd, beſides the atteſtation of ſo many Iriſh themſelves, may have recours to a Book intitl'd *The Myſterie of Iniquity*.

After the Rebellion brok'n out, which in words only he deteſted, but under hand favour'd and promoted by all the offices of freindſhip, correſpondence, and what poſſible aide he could afford them, the par-

:iculars wherof are too many to be inſerted heer, I ſuppoſe no underſtanding Man could longer doubt who was *Author or inſtigator* of that Rebellion. If :here be who yet doubt, I referr them eſpecially to :hat Declaration of *July* 1643. concerning this Matter. Againſt which teſtimonies, likelyhoods, :vidences, and apparent actions of his own, being ſo ıbundant, the bare denyall of one man, though with mprecation, cannot in any reaſon countervaile.

As for the Commiſſion granted them, he thinks :o evade that by retorting, that *ſome in England fight ıgainſt him* and yet *pretend his autority*. But though ı Parlament by the known Laws may affirme juſtly :o have the Kings autority, inſeparable from that Court, though divided from his Perſon, it is not :redible that the Iriſh Rebels who ſo much tender'd ıis Perſon above his Autoritie, and were by him ſo well receav'd at *Oxford*, would be ſo farr from all ıumanitie as to ſlander him with a particular Commiſſion ſign'd and ſent them by his own hand.

And of his good affection to the Rebells this Chapter it ſelf is not without witneſs. He holds :hem leſs in fault then the *Scots*, as from whom they night *allege* to have fetch'd *thir imitation;* making ıo difference between men that roſe neceſſarily to lefend themſelves, which no Proteſtant Doctrin ever liſallow'd, againſt them who threat'nd Warr, and :hoſe who began a voluntary and cauſeleſs Rebellion with the Maſſacher of ſo many thouſands who never neant them harme.

Hee falls next to flaſhes, and a multitude of words, in all which is contain'd no more, then what night be the Plea of any guiltieſt Offender, He was not the Author becauſe *he hath the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonour by what is committed.* Who is there that offends God or his Neighbour, on whom the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonour lights not in

the end? But in the act of doing evil, men use not to consider the event of thir evil doing: or if they doe, have then no power to curb the sway of thir owne wickednes. So that the greatest share of loss and dishonour to happ'n upon themselves, is no argument that they were not guilty. This other is as weak, that *a Kings interest* above that of any other man, *lies chiefly in the common welfare of his Subjects;* therfore no King will doe aught against the Common welfare. For by this evasion any Tyrant might as wel purge himself from the guilt of raising troubles or commotions among the people, because undoubtedly his chief Interest lies in thir sitting still.

I sayd but now that eev'n this Chapter, if nothing els, might suffice to discover his good affection to the Rebells; which in this that follows too notoriously appeares; imputing this insurrection to *the preposterous rigor, and unreasonable severitie, the covetous zeale and uncharitable fury of some men* (these *some men* by his continual paraphrase are meant the Parlament) and lastly, *to the feare of utter extirpation.* If the whole Irishry of Rebels had feed som advocate to speak partially and sophistically in thir defence, he could have hardly dazl'd better: Yet never the less would have prov'd himself no other then a plausible deceiver. And perhapps those fained terrors and jealousies were either by the King himself, or the Popish Priests which were sent by him, put into the head of that inquisitive people, on set purpose to engage them. For who had power *to oppress* them, or to releive them being oppreſt, but the King or his immediat Deputy? This rather should have made them rise against the King then against the Parlament. Who threat'nd or ever thought of thir extirpation, till they themselves had begun it to the English? As for *preposterous rigour, covetous zeale, and uncharitable fury;* they had more reason to sus-

pect thoſe evils firſt from his own commands, whom they ſaw uſing daily no *greater argument* to prove *the truth* of his Religion then by *enduring no other but his owne* Prelatical; and to force it upon others, made Epiſcopal, Ceremonial, and Common-Prayer-Book Warrs. But the Papiſts underſtood him better then by the outſide; and knew that thoſe Warrs were their Warrs. Although if the Common-wealth ſhould be afraid to ſuppreſs op'n Idolatry, leſt the Papiſts thereupon ſhould grow deſperat, this were to let them grow and become our perſecuters, while we neglected what we might have don Evangelically, to be their Reformers. Or to doe as his Father *James* did, who in ſtead of taking heart and putting confidence in God by ſuch a deliverance as from the Powder Plot, though it went not off, yet with the meer conceit of it, as ſome obſerve, was hitt into ſuch a *Hectic* trembling between Proteſtant and Papiſt all his life after, as that he never durſt from that time doe otherwiſe then equivocat or collogue with the Pope and his adherents.

He would be thought to commiſerat the ſad effects of that Rebellion, and to lament that *the teares and blood ſpilt there did not quench the ſparks of our civil* diſcord heer. But who began theſe diſſentions, and what can be more op'nly known then thoſe retardings and delaies which by himſelf were continually devis'd, to hinder and put back the releif of thoſe diſtreſſed Proteſtants, whom hee ſeems heer to compaſſionat. The particulars are too well known to be recited, and too many.

But *he offer'd to goe himſelf in perſon upon that expedition;* and reck'ns up many ſurmiſes why hee thinks they would not ſuffer him. But mentions not that by his underdealing to debauſh Armies heer at home, and by his ſecret intercours with the cheif Rebels, long ere that time every where known, hee

He finds fault with thoſe *who threat'nd all ext*
to the Rebels, and pleads much that mercy ſho
ſhown them. It ſeems he found himſelf
much concern'd as thoſe who had loſt Fathers
thers, Wives and Children, by thir crueltie;
in juſtice to retaliat is not as he ſuppoſes *une*
licall; ſo long as Magiſtracy and Warr is n
down under the Goſpel. If this his Sermon
fected mercy were not too Phariſaical, how co
permit himſelf to cauſe the ſlaughter of ſo
thouſands heer in *England* for meer Prerog
the Toys and Gewgaws of his Crown, for Cop
Surplices, the Trinkets of his Prieſts, and no
ceave his own zeale, while he taxes others,
moſt prepoſterous and unevangelical. Neit
there the ſame cauſe to deſtroy a whole Citty f
raviſhing of a Siſter, not don out of Villany, a
compence offer'd by Marriage; nor the ſam
for thoſe Diſciples to ſummon fire from Heav'n
the whole Citty where they were deny'd lo
and for a Nation by juſt Warr and execution
whole Families of them who ſo barbarouſl
ſlaine whole Families before. Did not all *Isra*

Decreed, but to ſhew that this his Homily hath more of craft and affectation in it, then of ſound Doctrin.

But it was happy that his going into *Ireland* was not conſented to: For either hee had certainly turn'd his intended Forces againſt the Parlament it ſelf, or not gon at all; or had hee gon, what work he would have made there, his own following words declare.

Hee would have puniſht ſome; no queſtion; for ſome perhapps who were of leaſt uſe, muſt of neceſſity have bin ſacrific'd to his reputation, *and the conveniencie of his affaires.* Others hee *would have diſarm'd,* that is to ſay in his own time: but *all of them hee would have protected from the fury of thoſe that would have drown'd them, if they had refus'd to ſwim down the popular ſtreame.* Theſe expreſſions are too oft'n mett, and too well underſtood for any man to doubt his meaning. By the *fury of thoſe,* he meanes no other then the Juſtice of Parlament, to whom yet he had committed the whole buſineſs. Thoſe who would have refus'd to ſwim down the popular ſtreame, our conſtant key tells us to be Papiſts, Prelats, and thir Faction: theſe, by his own confeſſion heer, he would have protected againſt his Puritan Parlament: And by this who ſees not that hee and the Iriſh Rebels had but one aime, one and the ſame drift, and would have forthwith joyn'd in one body againſt us.

Hee goes on ſtill in his tenderneſs of the Iriſh Rebels fearing leaſt *our zeale ſhould be more greedy to kill the Beare for his ſkin then for any harme hee hath don.* This either juſtifies the Rebels to have don no harme at all, or inferrs his opinion that the Parlament is more bloody and rapacious in the proſecution of thir Juſtice, then thoſe Rebels were in the execution of thir barbarous crueltie. Let men doubt now and diſpute to whom the King was a Freind moſt, to his Engliſh Parlament, or to his Iriſh Rebels.

With whom, that wee may yet ſee furder how

much he was thir Freind, after that the Parlament had brought them every where either to Famin, or a low condition, he, to give them all the respit and advantages they could desire, without advice of Parlament, to whom he himself had committed the managing of that Warr, makes a Cessation; in pretence to releive the Protestants, *overborne there with numbers*, but as the event prov'd, to support the Papists, by diverting and drawing over the English Army there, to his own service heer against the Parlament. For that the Protestants were then on the winning hand, it must needs be plain; who notwithstanding the miss of those Forces which, at thir landing heer, maister'd without difficulty great part of Wales and Chesshire, yet made a shift to keep thir owne in *Ireland*. But the plot of this Irish Truce is in good part discover'd in that Declaration of *September* 30th. 1643. And if the Protestants were but *handfuls* there, as he calls them, why did he stop and waylay both by Land and Sea, to his utmost power, those Provisions and Supplies which were sent by the Parlament? How were so many *handfuls* call'd over, as for a while stood him in no small stead, and against our main Forces heer in *England?*

Since therfore all the reasons that can be giv'n of this Cessation appeare so fals and frivolous, it may be justly fear'd that the designe it self was most wicked and pernicious. What remaines then? He *appeales to God*, and is cast; lik'ning his punishments to *Jobs* trials, before he saw them to have *Jobs* ending. He cannot stand *to make prolix Apologies*. Then surely those long Pamphlets set out for Declarations and Remonstrances in his Name, were none of his; and how they should be his indeed, being so repugnant to the whole cours of his actions, augments the difficulty.

But he usurps a common saying, *That it is Kingly*

'o *doe well and heare ill.* That may be ſometimes :rue: but farr more frequently, to doe ill and heare vell; ſo great is the multitude of Flatterers, and :hem that deifie the name of King.

Yet not content with theſe neighbours, we have iim ſtill a perpetual Preacher of his own vertues, ınd of that eſpecially which who knows not to be *Patience* perforce.

He *beleeves it will at laſt appeare that they who firſt 'egan to embroile his other Kingdoms, are alſo guilty of 'he blood of Ireland.* And wee beleeve ſo too; for ıow the Ceſſation is become a Peace by publiſh'd Articles, and Commiſſion to bring them over againſt *England*, firſt only ten thouſand by the Earl of *Glanorgan*, next all of them, if poſſible, under *Ormond*, which was the laſt of all his tranſactions don as a ›ublic Perſon. And no wonder; for he lookt upon :he blood ſpilt, whether of Subjects or of Rebels with ın indifferent eye, *as exhauſted out of his own veines;* without diſtinguiſhing as hee ought, which was good ›lood and which corrupt; the not letting out wherof :ndangers the whole body.

And what the Doctrin is yee may perceave alſo ›y the Prayer, which after a ſhort ejaculation for the *'oore Proteſtants*, prayes at large for the Iriſh Rebels, :hat God would not give them over, or *thir Children 'o the covetouſneſs, cruelty, fierce and curſed anger* of :he Parlament.

He finiſhes with a deliberat and ſolemn curſe *ıpon himſelf and his Fathers Houſe.* Which how :arr God hath alreadie brought to paſs, is to the end :hat men by ſo eminent an example ſhould learn to :remble at his judgements; and not play with Im›recations.

XIII. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots *and their comming.*

IT muſt needs ſeem ſtrange to Men who accuſtom themſelves to ponder and contemplate things in thir firſt original and inſtitution, that Kings, who, as all other Officers of the Public, were at firſt chos'n and inſtall'd onely by conſent and ſuffrage of the People, to govern them as Freemen by Laws of their own framing, and to be, in conſideration of that dignity and riches beſtow'd upon them, the entruſted Servants of the Common-wealth, ſhould notwithſtanding grow up to that diſhoneſt encroachment, as to eſteem themſelves Maiſters, both of that great truſt which they ſerve, and of the People that betruſted them: counting what they ought to doe both in diſcharge of thir public duty, and for the great reward of honour and revenue which they receave, as don all of meer grace and favour; as if thir power over us were by nature, and from themſelves, or that God had ſould us into thir hands. This ignorance or wilfull miſtake of the whole matter, had tak'n ſo deep root in the imagination of this King, that whether to the Engliſh or to the Scot, mentioning what acts of his Regal Office, though God knows how unwillingly, hee had paſs'd, he calls them, as in other places, Acts of grace and bounty; ſo heer *ſpecial obligations, favours, to gratifie active ſpirits, and the deſires of that party.* Words not onely ſounding pride and Lordly uſurpation, but Injuſtice, Partiality, and Corruption. For to the Iriſh hee ſo farr condiſcended, as firſt to tolerate in privat, then to covnant op'nly the tolerating of Popery: So farr to the Scot, as to remove Biſhops, eſtabliſh Preſbytery, and the *Militia* in thir own hands; *preferring, as ſome*

thought, the desires of Scotland before his own Interest and Honour. But being once on this side *Tweed*, his reason, his conscience, and his honour became so streitn'd with a kind of false Virginity, that to the English neither one nor other of the same demands could be granted, wherewith the Scots were gratifi'd; as if our aire and climat on a sudden had chang'd the property and the nature both of Conscience, Honour, and Reason, or that he found none so fit as English to be the subjects of his arbitrary power. *Ireland* was as *Ephraim*, the strength of his head, *Scotland*, as *Judah*, was his Law-giver; but over *England* as over *Edom* hee meant to cast his Shoo; and yet so many sober English men not sufficiently awake to consider this, like men inchanted with the *Circæan* cup of servitude, will not be held back from running thir own heads into the Yoke of Bondage.

The summ of his discours is against *settling of Religion by violent meanes;* which whether it were the Scots designe upon *England*, they are best able to cleare themselves. But this of all may seem strangest, that the King who, while it was permitted him, never did thing more eagerly then to molest and persecute the consciences of most Religious men, he who had made a Warr and lost all, rather then not uphold a Hierarchie of persecuting Bishops, should have the confidence heer to profess himself so much an Enemie of those that force the conscience. For was it not he, who upon the English obtruded new Ceremonies, upon the Scots a new Liturgie, and with his Sword went about to engrave a bloody *Rubric* on thir backs? Did he not forbidd and hinder all effectual search of Truth, nay like a beseiging Enemy stop'd all her passages both by Word and Writing? Yet heer can talk of *faire and equall disputations:* Where notwithstanding, if all submit not to his judgement as not being *rationally convicted*, they must

ſubmitt (and he conceales it not) to his *penaltie* a: counted *obſtinate*. But what if hee himſelf and thoſ his *learned Churchmen*, were the convicted or the ob- ſtinat part long agoe; ſhould Reformation ſuffe: them to ſit Lording over the Church in thir fat Biſhoprics and Pluralities, like the great Whore tha ſitteth upon many Waters, till they would voutſaf to be diſputed out? Or ſhould wee ſit diſputing whil they ſate plotting and perſecuting? Thoſe Clergime were not *to be driv'n into the fold like Sheep*, as his Si- mily runs, but to be driv'n out of the Fold lik Wolves, or Theeves, where they ſate *Fleecing* thoſ Flocks which they never fed.

He beleeves *that Preſbytery though prov'd to be th onely Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt were not by the Swor to be ſet up without his conſent;* which is contrary botl to the Doctrin, and the known practice of all Proteſ tant Churches; if his Sword threat'n thoſe who o thir own accord imbrace it.

And although *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, being to civi affairs but privat men, contended not with Magiſtrats yet when Magiſtrats themſelves and eſpecially Parla ments, who have greateſt right to diſpoſe of the civi Sword, com to know Religion, they ought in conſcienc to defend all thoſe who receave it willingly, againſt th violence of any King or Tyrant whatſoever. Neithe is it therfore true; *That Chriſtianity is planted o watred with Chriſtian blood;* for there is a large dif ference between forcing men by the Sword to tur *Preſbyterians*, and defending thoſe who willingly ar ſo, from a furious inroad of bloody Biſhops, arm' with the *Militia* of a King thir Pupill. And if *co vetouſneſs and ambition be an argument that Preſby- tery hath not much of Chriſt*, it argues more ſtrongl againſt Epiſcopacy; which from the time of her firſ mounting to an order above the Preſbyters, had n other Parents then Covetouſneſs and Ambition. An

thoſe *Sects, Sciſms, and Hereſies*, which he ſpeaks of, *if they get but ſtrength and numbers*, need no other *pattern* then Epiſcopacy and himſelf, to *ſet up their ways by the like method of violence*. Nor is ther any thing that hath more marks of Sciſm and Sectariſm then Engliſh Epiſcopacy; whether wee look at Apoſtolic times or at reformed Churches; for the *univerſall way of Church-goverment before*, may as ſoon lead us into groſs error, as thir univerſally corrupted Doctrin. And Goverment by reaſon of ambition was likliest to be corrupted much the ſooner of the two. However nothing can be to us Catholic or univerſal in Religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatſoever without Scripture pleads to be univerſal in the Church, in being univerſal is but the more Sciſmatical. Much leſs can *particular Laws and Conſtitutions* impart to the Church of *England*, any power of conſiſtory or tribunal above other Churches, to be the ſole Judge of what is Sect or Sciſm, as with much rigor, and without Scripture they took upon them. Yet theſe the King reſolves heer to defend and maintain to his laſt, pretending, after all thoſe conferences offer'd, or had with him, *not to ſee more rationall and religious motives then Soldiers carry in thir Knapſacks*; with one thus reſolv'd it was but folly to ſtand diſputing.

He imagins *his own judicious zeale to be moſt concern'd in his tuition of the Church*. So thought *Saul* when he preſum'd to offer Sacrifice; for which he loſt his Kingdom; So thought *Uzziah* when hee went into the Temple; but was thruſt out with a Leproſie for his opinion'd zeale, which he thought *judicious*. It is not the part of a King, becauſe he ought to defend the Church, therfore to ſet himſelf ſupreme head over the Church, or to meddle with Eccleſial Goverment, or to defend the Church otherwiſe then the Church would bee defended; for ſuch

defence is bondage; nor to defend abuſes, and ſtop all Reformation under the name of *New moulds fanci'd and faſhion'd to privat deſignes.* The holy things of Church are in the power of other keys then were deliver'd to his keeping. Chriſtian libertie purchas'd with the death of our Redeemer, and eſtabliſh'd by the ſending of his free ſpirit to inhabit in us, is not now to depend upon the doubtfull conſent of any earthly Monarch; nor to be again fetter'd with a preſumptuous negative voice, tyrannical to the Parlament, but much more Tyrannical to the Church of God: which was compell'd to implore the aid of Parlament, to remove his force and heavy hands from off our conſciences, who therfore complains now of that moſt juſt defenſive force, becauſe onely it remov'd his violence and perſecution. If this be a violation to his conſcience, that it was hinderd by the Parlament from violating the more tender conſciences of ſo many thouſand good Chriſtians, let the uſurping conſcience of all Tyrants be ever ſo violated.

Hee wonders, Fox wonder, how wee could ſo much *diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance*, as to call in the Proteſtant aid of our Brethren in *Scotland;* why then did he, if his truſt were in God and the juſtice of his Cauſe, not ſcruple to ſollicit and invite earneſtly the aſſiſtance both of Papiſts and of Iriſh Rebels? If the Scots were by us at length ſent home, they were not call'd in to ſtay heer always; neither was it for the peoples eaſe to feed ſo many Legions, longer then thir helpe was needfull.

The Goverment of their Kirk wee deſpis'd not, but thir impoſing of that Goverment upon us; not Preſbytery but Arch-Preſbytery, *Claſſical, Provincial, and Dioceſan* Preſbytery, claiming to it ſelf a Lordly power and Superintendency both over Flocks and Paſtors, over Perſons and Congregations no way thir own. But theſe debates in his judgement would have bin

ended better *by the best Divines in Christ'ndom in a full and free Synod.* A most improbable way, and such as never yet was us'd, at least with good successs, by any Protestant Kingdom or State since the Reformation: Every true Church having wherewithall from Heav'n, and the assisting Spirit of Christ implor'd to be complete and perfet within it self. And, the whole Nation is not easily to be thought so raw, and so perpetually a novice after all this light, as to need the help and direction of other Nations, more then what they write in public of thir opinion, in a matter so familiar as Church Goverment.

In fine he accuses *Pietie* with the want of *Loyalty* and *Religion* with the breach of *Allegeance*, as if God and he were one Maister, whose commands were so oft'n contrary to the commands of God. He would perswade the Scots that thir *chief Interest consists in thir fidelity to the Crown.* But true policy will teach them to find a safer interest in the common freindship of *England*, then in the ruins of one ejected Family.

XIIII. *Upon the Covnant.*

UPon this theme his discourse is long, his matter little but repetition; and therfore soon answerd. First after an abusive and strange apprehension of Covnants, as if Men *pawn'd thir soules* to them with whom they Covnant, he digresses to plead for Bishops; first from the antiquitie of thir *possession heer, since the first plantation of Christianity in this Iland*, next from *a universal prescription since the Apostles, till this last Centurie.* But what availes the most Primitive Antiquity against the plain sense of Scripture; which if the last Centurie have best follow'd, it ought in our esteem to be the first. And yet it hath bin oft'n prov'd by

Learned Men, from the Writings and Epiſtles of moſt ancient Chriſtians, that Epiſcopacy crept not up into an order above the Preſbyters, till many yeares after that the Apoſtles were deceas'd.

He next *is unſatisfi'd with the Covnant*, not onely for *ſome paſſages in it referring to himſelf*, as he ſuppoſes, *with very dubious and dangerous limitations*, but for binding men *by Oath and Covnant*, to the Reformation of Church Diſcipline. Firſt thoſe limitations were not more dangerous to him, then hee to our Libertie and Religion; next, that which was there vow'd, to caſt out of the Church an Antichriſtian Hierarchy which God had not planted, but ambition and corruption had brought in, and foſterd to the Churches great dammage and oppreſſion, was no point of *controverſie* to be argu'd without end, but a thing of *cleer moral neceſſity* to be forthwith don. Neither was the *Covnant ſuperfluous*, though *former engagements both religious and legall bound us before*: But was the practice of all Churches heertofore intending Reformation. All *Iſrael*, though bound anough before by the Law of *Moſes*, *to all neceſſary duties;* yet with *Aſa* thir King enter'd into a new Covnant at the beginning of a Reformation: And the *Jewes* after Captivity, without conſent demanded of that King who was thir Maiſter, took ſolemn Oath to walk in the Command'ments of God. All Proteſtant Churches have don the like, notwithſtanding former engagements to thir ſeveral duties. And although his aime were to ſow variance between *the Proteſtation and the Covnant*, to reconcile them is not difficult. The Proteſtation was but one ſtep, extending onely to the Doctrin of the Church of *England*, as it was diſtinct from Church Diſcipline; the Covnant went furder, as it pleas'd God to diſpenſe his light by degrees, and comprehended Church-Goverment; Former with latter ſteps in the progreſs

of well doing need not reconcilement. Neverthelefs he breaks through to his conclufion, *That all honeft and wife men ever thought themfelves fufficiently bound by former ties of Religion;* leaving *Afa*, *Ezra*, and the whole Church of God in fundry Ages to fhift for *honeftie* and wifdom from fom other then his teftimony. And although *after-contracts abfolve not* till the former be made void, yet he firft having don that, our duty returnes back, which to him was neither *moral nor eternal;* but conditional.

Willing to perfwade himfelf that many *good men* took the Covnant either unwarily, or out of feare, he feems to have beftow'd fom thoughts how thefe *good men* following his advice may keep the Covnant and not keep it. The firft evafion is, prefuming *that the cheif end of Covnanting in fuch mens intentions was to preferve Religion in purity and the Kingdoms peace.* But the Covnant will more truely inform them that purity of Religion and the Kingdoms peace was not then in ftate to be preferv'd, but to be reftor'd; and therfore binds them, not to a prefervation of what was, but to a Reformation of what was evil, what was Traditional, and *dangerous*, whether *novelty* or *antiquity* in Church or State. To doe this, clafhes with *no former Oath* lawfully fworn either to God or the King, and rightly underftood.

In generall he brands all *fuch confederations by League and Covnant, as the common rode us'd in all Factious perturbations of State and Church.* This kind of language reflects with the fame ignominy upon all the Proteftant Reformations that have bin fince *Luther;* and fo indeed doth his whole Book, replenifh'd throughout with hardly other words or arguments then Papifts, and efpecially Popifh Kings, have us'd heertofore againft thir Proteftant Subjects; whom he would perfwade to be *every man his own Pope and to abfolve himfelfe of thofe ties*, by the fug-

geſtion of fals or equivocal interpretations too oft repeated to be now anſwer'd.

The Parlament, he ſaith, *made thir Covnant like Manna, agreeable to every mans Palat.* This is another of his gloſſes upon the Covnant; he is content to let it be *Manna*, but his drift is that men ſhould loath it, or at leaſt expound it by thir own *reliſh*, and *latitude of ſenſe;* wherin leaſt any one of the ſimpler ſort ſhould faile to be his crafts maiſter, he furniſhes him with two or three laxative, hee termes them *general clauſes, which may ſerve ſomwhat to releeve them* againſt the Covnant tak'n: intimating, as if *what were lawfull and according to the word of God*, were no otherwiſe ſo, then as every man fanci'd to himſelf. From ſuch lerned explications and reſolutions as theſe upon the Covnant, what marvel if no Royaliſt or Malignant refuſe to take it, as having learnt from theſe Princely inſtructions, his many *Salvo's, cautions, and reſervations*, how to be a Covnanter and Anticovnanter, how at once to be a Scot, and an Iriſh Rebell.

He returnes againe to diſallow of *that Reformation which the Covnant* vowes, *as being the partiall advice of a few Divines.* But matters of this moment, as they were not to be decided there by thoſe Divines, ſo neither are they to be determin'd heer by Eſſays and curtal Aphoriſms, but by ſolid proofs of Scripture.

The reſt of his diſcourſe he ſpends, highly accuſing the Parlament, *that the maine Reformation by* them *intended was to robb the Church*, and much applauding himſelf both for *his forwardneſs* to all due Reformation, and his averſneſs from all ſuch kind of *Sacrilege.* All which, with his glorious title of the *Churches Defender*, wee leave him to make good, by *Pharaoh's Divinity*, if he pleaſe, for to *Joſephs Pietie* it will be a taſk unſutable. As for *the parity and*

poverty of Miniſters, which hee takes to be ſo ſad of *conſequence*, the Scripture reck'ns them for two ſpecial Legacies left by our Saviour to his Diſciples: under which two Primitive Nurſes, for ſuch they were indeed, the Church of God more truly flouriſht then ever after, ſince the time that imparitie and Church revenue ruſhing in, corrupted and beleper'd all the Clergie with a worſe infection then *Gehezi's;* ſome one of whoſe Tribe rather then a King, I ſhould take to be compiler of that unſalted and Simonical praier annex'd. Although the Praier it ſelf ſtrongly prays againſt them. For never ſuch holy things as he meanes, were *giv'n* to more *Swine, nor the Churches bread* more to *Dogs*, then when it fed ambitious, irreligious and dumb Prelats.

XV. *Upon the many Jealouſies*, &c.

TO wipe off jealouſies and ſcandals, the beſt way had bin by clear Actions, or till Actions could be clear'd, by evident reaſons; but meer words we are too well acquainted with. Had *his honour and reputation bin dearer to him* then the luſt of Raigning, how could the Parlament of either Nation have laid ſo oft'n at his dore the breach of words, promiſes, acts, Oaths, and execrations, as they doe avowedly in many of thir Petitions, and addreſſes to him: thether I remitt the Reader. And who can beleive that whole Parlaments elected by the People from all parts of the Land, ſhould meet in one mind, and reſolution not to adviſe him, but to conſpire againſt him, in a wors powder plot then *Cateſbies, to blow up*, as he termes it, *the peoples affection towards him, and batter downe thir loyaltie by the Engins of foule aſperſions:* Waterworks rather then Engins to batter with, yet thoſe

aſperſions were rais'd from the foulneſs of his c actions. Whereof to purge himſelf, he uſes no ot argument, then a general and ſo oft'n iterated cc mendation of himſelf; and thinks that Court h water hath the vertue of expiation; at leaſt with ſilly people. To whom he familiarly imputes where none is, to ſeem liberal of his *forgive* where none is ask'd or needed.

What wayes he hath tak'n toward the proſpei of his people, which he would ſeem *ſo earneſtl deſire*, if wee doe but once call to mind, it will anough to teach us, looking on the ſmooth inſi ations heer, that Tyrants are not more flatterd thir Slaves, then forc'd to flatter others whom t feare.

For the peoples *tranquillitie he would willingl the Jonah;* but leaſt he ſhould be tak'n at his wc pretends to foreſee within Kenn two imagin *windes* never heard of in the Compaſs, which thi ten, if he be caſt overboard, *to encreaſe the ſto* but that controverſy, divine lot hath ended.

He had rather not rule then that his people ſhoul ruin'd; and yet above theſe twenty yeares hath ruining the people about the niceties of his ruli He is accurate *to put a difference between the plagu malice*, and *the ague of miſtakes, the itch of nove and the leproſie of diſloyaltie.* But had he as v known how to diſtinguiſh between the venera gray haires of ancient Religion, and the old ſcu of Superſtition, between the wholſome heat of v Governing, and the fevorous rage of Tyrannizi his judgment in State-phyſic, had bin of more toritie.

Much he Propheſies, *that the credit of thoſe who have caſt black ſcandals on him ſhal ere long be q blaſted by the ſame furnace of popular obloquie wh they ſought to caſt his name and honour:* I beleive

that a Romiſh gilded Portrature gives better Oracle then a Babyloniſh gold'n Image could doe, to tell us truely who heated that Furnace of obloquy, or who deſerves to be thrown in, *Nebuchadnezzar* or the three Kingdoms. It *gave him great cauſe to ſuſpect his own innocence* that he was oppos'd by *ſo many who profeſt ſingular pietie.* But this qualm was ſoon over, and he concluded rather to ſuſpect their Religion, then his own innocence, affirming that *many with him were both learned and Religious above the ordinary ſize.* But if his great Seal without the Parlament were not ſufficient to create Lords, his Parole muſt needs be farr more unable to create learned and religious men; and who ſhall authorize his unlerned judgement to point them out?

He gueſſes that *many well minded men were by popular Preachers urg'd to oppoſe him.* But the oppoſition undoubtedly proceeded and continues from heads farr wiſer, and ſpirits of a Nobler ſtraine; thoſe Prieſt-led *Herodians* with thir blind guides are in the Ditch already; travailing, as they thought, to *Sion*, but moor'd in the Ile of *Wight*.

He thanks God *for his conſtancy to the Proteſtant Religion both abroad and at home.* Abroad, his Letter to the Pope, at home, his Innovations in the Church will ſpeak his conſtancy in Religion what it was, without furder credit to this vain boaſt.

His *uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts*, as the cauſe might be, could not hurt his Religion; but in the ſetling of Proteſtantiſm, thir aid was both unſeemly and ſuſpicious, and inferr'd that the greateſt part of Proteſtants were againſt him and his obtruded ſettlement.

But this is ſtrange indeed, that he ſhould appeare now teaching the Parlament, what no man, till this was read, thought ever he had learnt, *that difference of perſwaſion in religious matters may fall out where*

there is the ſamenes of Allegeance and Subjection. If he thought ſo from the beginning, wherfore was ther ſuch compulſion us'd to the Puritans of *England*, and the whole Realm of *Scotland*, about conforming to a Liturgie? Wherfore no Biſhop no King? Wherfore Epiſcopacie more agreeable to Monarchie, if different perſwaſions in Religion may agree in one Duty and Allegeance? Thus doe Court Maxims like Court Minions riſe or fall as the King pleaſes.

Not to tax him for want of Elegance as a Courtier, in writing *Oglio* for *Olla* the Spaniſh word, it might be well affirm'd that there was a greater *Medley* and diſproportioning of Religions to mix Papiſts with Proteſtants in a religious cauſe, then to entertaine all thoſe diverſifi'd Sects, who yet were all Proteſtants, one Religion, though many Opinions.

Neither was it *any ſhame to Proteſtants*, that he a *declar'd* Papiſt, if his own Letter to the Pope, not yet renownc'd, bely him not, found ſo few Proteſtants of his Religion, as enforc'd him to call in both the counſel and the aid of Papiſts to help eſtabliſh Proteſtancy, who were led on, not *by the ſenſe of thir Allegeance*, but by the hope of his Apoſtacy to *Rome*, from diſputing to warring; his own voluntary, and firſt appeale.

His hearkning to evil Counſelers, charg'd upon him ſo oft'n by the Parlament, he puts off as *a device of thoſe men who were ſo eager to give him better counſell.* That *thoſe men* were the Parlament, and that he ought to have us'd the counſel of none but thoſe, as a King, is already known. What their civility laid upon evil Counſelers, he himſelf moſt commonly own'd; but the event of thoſe evil counſels, *the enormities, the confuſions, the miſeries* he transferrs from the guilt of his own civil broiles to the juſt reſiſtance made by Parlament; and imputes what miſcarriages of his they could not yet remove for his oppoſing, as

if they were ſom new miſdemeanors of their bringing in, and not the inveterat diſeaſes of his own bad Goverment; which, with a diſeaſe as badd, hee falls again to magnifie and commend; and may all thoſe who would be govern'd by his *Retractions and conceſſions*, rather then by Laws of Parlament, admire his ſelf-*Encomiums*, and be flatter'd with that *Crown of patience* to which hee cunningly exhorted them, that his Monarchical foot might have the ſetting it upon thir heads.

That truſt which the Parlament faithfully diſcharg'd in the aſſerting of our Liberties, he calls *another artifice to withdraw the people from him, to their deſignes*. What piece of Juſtice could they have demanded for the people, which the jealouſie of a King might not have miſcall'd a deſigne to diſparage his Goverment; and to ingratiat themſelves? To be more juſt, religious, wiſe, or magnanimous then the common ſort, ſtirrs up in a Tyrant both feare and envy; and ſtreight he cries out popularitie, which in his account is little leſs then Treaſon. The ſum is, they thought to regulate and limit his negative voice, and ſhare with him in the *Militia*, both or either of which he could not poſſibly hold without conſent of the people, and not be abſolutely a Tyrant. He profeſſes *to deſire no other liberty then what he envies not his Subjects according to Law;* yet fought with might and maine againſt his Subjects to have a ſole power over them in his hand, both againſt and beyond Law. As for the Philoſophical Libertie which in vaine he talks of, we may conclude him very ill train'd up in thoſe free notions, who to civil Libertie was ſo injurious.

He calls the conſcience *Gods ſovrantie*, why then doth he conteſt with God about that ſupreme title? Why did he *lay reſtraints*, and force enlargements upon our conſciences in things for which we were to

anſwer God onely and the Church? God bids us *Be ſubject for conſcience ſake*, that is as to a Magiſtrat, and in the Laws; not uſurping over ſpiritual things, as *Lucifer* beyond his ſphere.

Finally having layd the fault of theſe Commotions, not upon his own miſgoverment, but upon *the ambition of others, the neceſſity of ſome mens fortune, and thirſt after noveltie*, he bodes himſelf *much honour and reputation that like the Sun ſhall riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a ſplendour, as Owles, Batts, and ſuch fatall Birds ſhall be unable to beare.* Poets indeed uſe to vapor much after this manner. But to bad Kings, who without cauſe expect future glory from thir actions, it happ'ns as to bad Poets; who ſit and ſtarve themſelves with a deluſive hope to win immortality by thir bad lines. For though men ought not to *ſpeake evil of Dignities* which are juſt, yet nothing hinders us to ſpeak evil, as oft as it is the truth, of thoſe who in thir Dignities doe evil; thus did our Saviour himſelf, *John* the Baptiſt, and *Steev'n* the Martyr. And thoſe *black vailes* of his own miſdeeds he might be ſure would ever keep *his face from ſhining*, till he could *refute evil ſpeaking with well doing*, which grace he ſeemes heer to pray for; and his prayer doubtleſs as it was prayd, ſo it was heard. But eev'n his prayer is ſo ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares aſk away the Prerogative of Chriſt himſelf, *To become the head ſtone of the Corner.*

XVI. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-prayer Book.*

WHat to think of Liturgies, both the ſenſe of Scripture, and apoſtolicall practice would have taught him better, then his human reaſonings and conjectures: Nevertheleſs

what weight they have, let us consider. If it be *no newes to have all innovations usherd in with the name of Reformation*, sure it is less news to have all reformation censur'd and oppos'd under the name of innovation; *by those* who beeing exalted in high place above thir merit, feare all change though of things *never so* ill or so *unwisely settl'd. So hardly can the* dotage of those that dwell upon Antiquitie *allow* present *times any share of godliness or wisdom.*

The removing of Liturgie he traduces to be don onely as a *thing plausible to the People;* whose rejection of it he lik'ns with small reverence to the *crucifying* of our Saviour; next that it was don *to please those men who gloried in thir extemporary veine*, meaning the Ministers. For whom it will be best to answer, as was answer'd for the man born blind, *They are of age let them speak for themselves;* not how they came blind, but whether it were Liturgie that held them tongue-ti'd.

For the matter contain'd in that Book we need no better witness then King *Edward* the sixth, who to the Cornish Rebels confesses it was no other then the old Mass-Book don into English, all but some few words that were expung'd. And by this argument which King *Edward* so promptly had to use against that irreligious Rabble, we may be assur'd it was the carnal feare of those Divines and Polititians that modell'd the Liturgie no furder off from the old Mass, least by too great an alteration they should incense the People, and be destitute of the same shifts to fly to, which they had taught the young King.

For the manner of using sett formes, there is no doubt but that, wholesom matter, and good desires rightly conceav'd in the heart, wholesom words will follow of themselves. Neither can any true Christian find a reason why Liturgie should be at all admitted, a prescription not impos'd or practis'd by those first

Founders of the Church, who alone had that authority: Without whoſe precept or example, how conſtantly the Preiſt puts on his Gown and Surplice, ſo conſtantly doth his praier put on a ſervile yoak of Liturgie. This is evident that they *who uſe no ſet formes of prayer*, have words from thir affections; while others are to ſeek affections fit and proportionable to a certain doſs of prepar'd words; which as they are not rigorouſly forbidd to any mans privat infirmity, ſo to impriſon and confine by force, into a Pinfold of ſet words, thoſe two muſt unimpriſonable things, our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands then thoſe Giants who threat'nd bondage to Heav'n. What *we may doe* in the ſame forme of words is not ſo much the queſtion, as whether Liturgie may be forc'd, as he forc'd it. It is true that wee *pray to the ſame God*, muſt we therfore always uſe the ſame words? Let us then uſe but one word, becauſe we pray to one God. *Wee profeſs the ſame truths*, but the Liturgie comprehends not all truths: *we read the ſame Scriptures;* but never read that all thoſe Sacred expreſſions, all benefit and uſe of Scripture, as to public prayer, ſhould be deny'd us, except what was barreld up in a Common-praier Book with many mixtures of thir owne, and which is worſe, without ſalt. But ſuppoſe them ſavoury words and unmix'd, ſuppoſe them *Manna* it ſelf, yet if they ſhall be hoarded up and enjoynd us, while God every morning raines down new expreſſions into our hearts, in ſtead of being fit to uſe, they will be found like reſerv'd *Manna, rather to breed wormes and ſtink. Wee have the ſame duties upon us and feele the ſame wants;* yet not alwayes the ſame, nor at all times alike; but with varietie of Circumſtances, which aſke varietie of words. Wherof God hath given us plenty; not to uſe ſo copiouſly upon all other occaſions, and

ſo niggardly to him alone in our devotions. As if Chriſtians were now in a wors famin of words fitt for Prayer, then was of food at the ſeige of Jeruſalem, when perhaps the Preiſts being to remove the ſhew bread, as was accuſtom'd, were compell'd every Sabbath day, for want of other Loaves, to bring again ſtill the ſame. If *the Lords Prayer* had bin the *warrant or the pattern of ſet Liturgies*, as is heer affirm'd, why was neither that Prayer, nor any other ſet forme ever after us'd, or ſo much as mention'd by the Apoſtles, much leſs commended to our uſe? Why was thir care wanting in a thing ſo uſefull to the Church? So full of danger and contention to be left undon by them to other mens Penning, of whoſe autority we could not be ſo certain? Why was this forgott'n by them who declare that they have reveal'd to us the whole Counſel of God; who as he left our affections to be guided by his ſanctifying ſpirit, ſo did he likewiſe our words to be put into us without our premeditation; not only thoſe cautious words to be us'd before Gentiles and Tyrants, but much more thoſe filial words, of which we have ſo frequent uſe in our acceſs with freedom of ſpeech to the Throne of Grace. Which to lay aſide for other outward dictates of men, were to injure him and his perfet Gift, who is the ſpirit, and the giver of our abilitie to pray; as if his miniſtration were incomplete, and that to whom he gave affections, he did not alſo afford utterance to make his Gift of prayer a perfet Gift.

And although the gift were only natural, yet voluntary prayers *are leſs ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers then ſet formes:* For in thoſe, at leaſt for words and matter, he who prays, muſt conſult firſt with his heart; which in likelyhood may ſtirr up his affections; in theſe having both words and matter readie made to his lips, which is anough to make up the outward act of prayer, his affections

grow lazy, and com not up eaſily at the call of words not thir own; the prayer alſo having leſs intercours and ſimpathy with a heart wherin it was not conceav'd, ſaves it ſelf the labour of ſo long a journey downward, and flying up in haſt on the ſpecious wings of formalitie, if it fall not back againe headlong, inſtead of a prayer which was expected, preſents God with a ſett of ſtale and empty words.

No doubt but *oſtentation and formalitie* may taint the beſt duties: we are not therfore to leave duties for no duties, and to turne prayer into a kind of Lurrey. Cannot unpremeditated babling be rebuk'd, and reſtrain'd in whom we find they are, but the ſpirit of God muſt be forbidd'n in all men? But it is the cuſtom of bad men and Hypocrits to take advantage at the leaſt abuſe of good things, that under that covert they may remove the goodneſs of thoſe things, rather then the abuſe. And how unknowingly, how weakly is the uſing of ſet forms attributed here to *conſtancy*, as if it were conſtancie in the Cuckoo to be alwaies in the ſame liturgie.

Much leſs can it be lawfull that an Engliſht Maſs Book, compos'd for ought we know, by men neither *lerned*, nor *godly*, *ſhould juſtle out*, or at any time *deprive* us the exerciſe of that Heav'nly gift, which God by ſpecial promiſe powrs out daylie upon his Church, that is to ſay, the ſpirit of Prayer. Wherof to help thoſe many infirmities, which he reck'ns up, *rudeneſs*, *impertinencie*, *flatneſs*, and the like, we have a remedy of Gods finding out, which is not Liturgie, but his own free ſpirit. Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with ſighs unutterable by any words, much leſs by a ſtinted Liturgie, dwelling in us makes interceſſion for us, according to the mind and will of God both in privat, and in the performance of all Eccleſiaſticall duties. For it is his promiſe alſo, that where two or three

gather'd together in his name ſhall agree to aſke him any thing, it ſhall be granted; for he is there in the midſt of them. If then ancient Churches to remedie the infirmities of prayer, or rather the infections of Arian and Pelagian Hereſies, neglecting that ordain'd and promis'd help of the ſpirit, betook them almoſt four hundred yeares after Chriſt to Liturgie thir own invention, wee are not to imitate them; nor to diſtruſt God in the removal of that Truant help to our Devotion, which by him never was appointed. And what is ſaid of Liturgie is ſaid alſo of Directory, if it be impos'd: although to forbidd the Service Book there be much more reaſon, as being of it ſelf ſuperſtitious, offenſive, and indeed, though Engliſht, yet ſtill the Maſs-Book: and public places ought to be provided of ſuch as need not the help of Liturgies or Directories continually, but are ſupported with Miniſterial gifts anſwerable to thir Calling.

Laſtly that the Common prayer Book was rejected becauſe it *prayd ſo oft for him*, he had no reaſon to Object: for what large and laborious Prayers were made for him in the Pulpits, if he never heard, tis doubtfull they were never heard in Heav'n. We might now have expected that his own following Praier ſhould add much credit to ſet Formes; but on the contrary we find the ſame imperfections in it, as in moſt before, which he layes heer upon Extemporal. Nor doth hee aſk of God to be directed whether Liturgies be lawfull, but preſumes, and in a manner would perſwade him that they be ſo; praying *that the Church and he may never want them*. What could be prayd worſe extempore?

XVII. *Of the differences in point of Church Goverment.*

THe Goverment of Church by Biſhops hath bin ſo fully prov'd from the Scriptures to be vitious and uſurp'd, that whether *out of Pietie or Policy* maintain'd, it is not much material. For Pietie grounded upon error can no more juſtifie King *Charles*, then it did Queen *Mary*, in the ſight of God or Man. This however muſt not be let paſs without a ſerious obſervation; God having ſo diſpos'd the Author in this Chapter as to confeſs and diſcover more of Myſterie and combination between Tyranny and fals Religion, then from any other hand would have bin credible. Heer we may ſee the very dark roots of them both turn'd up, and how they twine and interweave one another in the Earth, though above ground ſhooting up in two ſever'd Branches. Wee may have learnt both from ſacred Story, and times of Reformation, that the Kings of this World have both ever hated, and inſtinctively fear'd the Church of God. Whether it be for that thir Doctrin ſeems much to favour two things to them ſo dreadfull, Liberty and Equality, or becauſe they are the Children of that Kingdom which, as ancient Prophefies have foretold, ſhall in the end breake to peeces and diſſolve all thir great power and Dominion. And thoſe Kings and Potentates who have ſtrove moſt to ridd themſelves of this feare, by cutting off or ſuppreſſing the true Church, have drawn upon themſelves the occaſion of thir own ruine, while they thought with moſt policy to prevent it. Thus *Pharaoh*, when once he began to feare and wax jealous of the Iſraelites, leaſt they ſhould multiply and fight againſt him, and that his feare ſtirr'd him up to afflict and keep them under, as the

onely remedy of what hee feard, ſoon found that the evil which before ſlept, came ſuddenly upon him, by the prepoſterous way he took to prevent it. Paſſing by examples between, and not ſhutting wilfully our eyes, we may ſee the like ſtory brought to paſs in our own Land. This King more then any before him, except perhapps his Father, from his firſt entrance to the Crown, harbouring in his mind a ſtrange feare and ſuſpicion of men moſt religious, and thir Doctrin, which in his own language he heer acknowledges, terming *it the ſeditious exorbitancie* of Miniſters tongues, and doubting *leaſt they*, as he not Chriſtianly expreſſes it, *ſhould with the Keys of Heav'n let out Peace and Loyaltie from the peoples hearts*, though they never Preacht or attempted aught that might juſtly raiſe in him ſuch thoughts, he could not reſt, or think himſelfe ſecure, ſo long as they remain'd in any of his three Kingdoms unrooted out. But outwardly profeſſing the ſame Religion with them, he could not preſently uſe violence as *Pharaoh* did, and that courſe had with others before but ill ſucceeded. He chooſes therfore a more myſtical way, a newer method of Antichriſtian fraud, to the Church more dangerous: and like to *Balac* the Son of *Zippor*, againſt a Nation of Prophets thinks it beſt to hire other eſteemed Prophets, and to undermine and weare out the true Church by a fals Eccleſiaſtical policy. To this drift he found the Goverment of Biſhops moſt ſerviceable; an order in the Church, as by men firſt corrupted, ſo mutually corrupting them who receave it, both in judgement and manners. Hee, by conferring Biſhoprics and great Livings on whom he thought moſt pliant to his will, againſt the known Canons and univerſal practice of the ancient Church, wherby thoſe elections were the peoples right, ſought, as he confeſſes, to have *greateſt influence upon Church men*. They on the other ſide

finding themſelves in a high Dignity, neither founded by Scripture, nor allow'd by Reformation, nor ſupported by any ſpiritual gift or grace of thir own, knew it thir beſt cours to have dependence onely upon him: and wrought his fancy by degrees to that degenerat, and unkingly perſwaſion of *No Biſhop, no King*. When as on the contrary all Prelates in thir own ſuttle ſenſe are of another mind; according to that of *Pius* the fourth, rememberd in the Hiſtory of *Trent*, that Biſhops then grow to be moſt vigorous and potent, when Princes happ'n to be moſt weak, and impotent. Thus when both Intereſts of Tyrannie and Epiſcopacie were incorporat into each other, the King whoſe principall ſafety and eſtabliſhment conſiſted in the righteous execution of his civil power, and not in Biſhops and thir wicked counſels, fatally driv'n on, ſet himſelf to the removal of thoſe men whoſe Doctrin, and deſire of Church Diſcipline he ſo fear'd would be the undoing of his Monarchie. And becauſe no temporal Law could touch the innocence of thir lives, he begins with the perſecution of thir conſciences, laying ſcandals before them: and makes that the argument to inflict his unjuſt penalties both on thir bodies and Eſtates. In this Warr againſt the Church if hee hath ſped ſo, as other haughty Monarchs whom God heertofore hath hard'nd to the like enterprize, we ought to look up with praiſes and thanks-giving to the Author of our deliverance, to whom victory and power, Majeſtie, Honour, and Dominion belongs for ever.

In the mean while from his own words we may perceave eaſily, that the ſpecial motives which he had to endeere and deprave his judgement to the favouring and utmoſt defending of Epiſcopacy, are ſuch as here we repreſent them: and how unwillingly and with what mentall reſervation he condeſcended againſt his intereſt to remove it out of the

Peers houſe, hath bin ſhown alreadie. The reaſons, which he affirmes wrought ſo much upon his judgement, ſhall be ſo farr anſwerd as they be urg'd:

Scripture, he pretends, but produces none, and next the *conſtant practice of all Chriſtian Churches, till of late yeares tumult, faction, pride, and covetouſneſs, invented new models under the Title of Chriſts Goverment*. Could any Papiſt have ſpoke more ſcandalouſly againſt all Reformation? Well may the Parlament and beſt-affected People not now be troubl'd at his calumnies and reproaches, ſince he binds them in the ſame bundle with all other the reformed Churches; who alſo may now furder ſee, beſides thir own bitter experience, what a Cordial and well meaning helper they had of him abroad, and how true to the proteſtant cauſe.

As for *hiſtories* to prove Biſhops, the Bible, if we mean not to run into errors, vanities, and uncertainties, muſt be our onely hiſtory. Which informes us that the Apoſtles were not properly Biſhops; next, that Biſhops were not ſucceſſors of Apoſtles, in the function of Apoſtleſhip: And that if they were Apoſtles, they could not be preciſely Biſhops; if Biſhops, they could not be Apoſtles; this being Univerſal, extraordinary, and immediat from God; that being an ordnarie, fixt, and particular charge, and continual inſpection over a certain Flock. And although an *ignorance and deviation* of the ancient Churches afterward, may with as much *reaſon and charitie* be ſuppos'd as *ſudden* in point of Prelaty, as in other manifeſt corruptions, yet that *no example ſince the firſt age for* 1500 *yeares can be produc'd of any ſetled Church, wherin were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhops above them*, the Eccleſiaſticall ſtory, to which he appeals for want of Scripture, proves cleerly to be a falſe and overconfident aſſertion. *Sozomenus* who wrote above twelve hunderd

years agoe, in his Seaventh Book relates from his own knowledge, that in the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Arabia* (places neer to Jeruſalem, and with the firſt frequented by Apoſtles) they had Biſhops in every Village; and what could thoſe be more then Preſbyters? The like he tells of other Nations; and that Epiſcopal Churches in thoſe daies did not condemn them. I ad that many Weſtern Churches eminent for thir Faith and good Works, and ſettl'd above four hundred yeares agoe in *France*, in *Piemont* and *Bohemia*, have both taught and practis'd the ſame Doctrin, and not admitted of Epiſcopacy among them. And if we may beleeve what the Papiſts themſelves have writt'n of theſe Churches, which they call *Waldenſes*, I find it in a Book writt'n almoſt four hundred yeares ſince, and ſet forth in the *Bohemian* Hiſtory, that thoſe Churches in *Piemont* have held the ſame Doctrin and Goverment, ſince the time that *Conſtantine* with his miſchevous donations poyſon'd *Silveſter* and the whole Church. Others affirme they have ſo continu'd there ſince the Apoſtles: and *Theodorus Belvederenſis* in his relation of them, confeſſeth that thoſe Hereſies, as hee names them, were, from the firſt times of Chriſtianity, in that place. For the reſt I referr me to that famous teſtimony of *Jerom*, who upon that very place which he cites here, the Epiſtle to *Titus*, declares op'nly that Biſhop and Preſbyter were one and the ſame thing; till by the inſtigation of Satan, partialities grew up in the Church; and that Biſhops rather by cuſtom, then any ordainment of Chriſt, were exalted above Preſbyters: whoſe interpretation we truſt ſhall be receav'd before this intricate ſtuffe tattl'd heer of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and I know not whom thir Succeſſors, farr beyond Court Element, and as farr beneath true edification. Theſe are his *fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons and Eccleſiaſtical examples;*

how undivinelike writt'n, and how like a worldly Goſpeller that underſtands nothing of theſe matters, poſterity no doubt will be able to judge: and will but little regard what he calls *Apoſtolicall*, who in his Letter to the Pope calls Apoſtolical the Roman Religion.

Nor let him think to plead, that therfore *it was not policy of State*, or obſtinacy in him which upheld Epiſcopacy, becauſe the injuries and loſſes which he ſuſtain'd by ſo doing, were to him *more conſiderable* then Epiſcopacy it ſelf; for all this might *Pharaoh* have had to ſay in his excuſe of detaining the *Iſraelites;* that his own and his Kingdoms ſafety ſo much endanger'd by his deniall, was to him more deer, then all their building labours could be worth to *Ægypt*. But whom God hard'ns, them alſo he blinds.

He indeavours to make good Epiſcopacy not only in *Religion, but from the nature of all civil Goverment, where parity breeds confuſion and faction.* But of faction and confuſion, to take no other then his own teſtimony, where hath more bin ever bred then under the imparity of his own Monarchical Goverment? Of which to make at this time longer diſpute, and from civil conſtitutions, and human conceits to debate and queſtion the convenience of Divine Ordinations, is neither wiſdom nor ſobriety: and to confound *Moſaic Preiſthood* with Evangelic Preſbyterie againſt expreſs Inſtitution, is as farr from warrantable. As little to purpoſe is it, that we ſhould ſtand powling the reformed Churches, whether they *equalize* in number *thoſe of his three Kingdoms;* of whom ſo lately the farr greater part, what they have long deſir'd to doe, have now quite thrown off Epiſcopacy.

Neither may we count it the language or Religion of a Proteſtant, ſo to vilifie the beſt reformed Churches (for none of them but Lutherans retain Biſhops) as

to feare more the *ſcandalizing* of Papiſts, becauſe more numerous, then of our Proteſtant Brethren becauſe a *handfull.* It will not be worth the while to ſay what *Sciſmatics or Heretics* have had no Biſhops; yet leaſt he ſhould be tak'n for a great Reader, he who prompted him, if hee were a Doctor, might have rememberd the fore-mention'd place in *Sozomenus;* which affirmes that beſides the *Cyprians and Arabians* who were counted Orthodoxal, the *Novatians* alſo, and *Montaniſts* in *Phrygia* had no other Biſhops then ſuch as were in every Village: and what Preſbyter hath a narrower Dioceſs? As for the *Aërians* we know of no Heretical opinion juſtly father'd upon them, but that they held Biſhops and Preſbyters to be the ſame. Which he in this place not obſcurely ſeems to hold a Hereſie in all the reformed Churches: with whom why the Church of *England* deſir'd conformity, he can find no reaſon with all his *charity, but the comming in of the Scots Army;* Such a high eſteem he had of the Engliſh.

He tempts the Clergie to returne back again to Biſhops, from the feare of *tenuity and contempt,* and the aſſurance of better *thriving under the favour of Princes;* againſt which temptations if the Clergy cannot arme themſelves with thir own ſpiritual armour, they are indeed as *poor a Carkaſs* as hee termes them.

Of Secular honours and great Revenues added to the dignity of Prelats, ſince the ſubject of that queſtion is now remov'd, wee need not ſpend time: But this perhapps will never be unſeaſonable to beare in mind out of *Chryſoſtome,* that when Miniſters came to have Lands, Houſes, Farmes, Coaches, Horſes, and the like Lumber, then Religion brought forth riches in the Church, and the Daughter devour'd the Mother.

But if his judgement in Epiſcopacy may be judg'd

by the goodly chois he made of Biſhops, we need not much amuſe our ſelves with the conſideration of thoſe evils which, by his foretelling, will *neceſſarily follow* their pulling down, untill he prove that the Apoſtles having no certain Dioceſs or appointed place of reſidence, were properly *Biſhops over thoſe Preſbyters whom they ordain'd, or Churches they planted*; wherein ofttimes thir labours were both joynt and promiſcuous: Or that the Apoſtolic power muſt *neceſſarily deſcend to Biſhops, the uſe and end* of either function being ſo different. And how the Church hath flouriſht under Epiſcopacy, let the multitude of thir ancient and groſs errors teſtifie; and the words of ſome learnedeſt and moſt zealous Biſhops among them; *Nazianzen* in a devout paſſion wiſhing Prelaty had never bin; *Baſil* terming them the Slaves of Slaves, Saint *Martin*, the enemies of Saints, and confeſſing that after he was made a Biſhop, he found much of that grace decay in him which he had before.

Concerning his *Coronation Oath* what it was, and how farr it bound him, already hath bin ſpok'n. This we may take for certain, that hee was never ſworn to his own particular conſcience and reaſon, but to our conditions as a free people; which requir'd him to give us ſuch Laws as our ſelves ſhall chooſe. This the Scots could bring him to, and would not be baffl'd with the pretence of a Coronation Oath, after that Epiſcopacy had for many yeares bin ſettl'd there. Which conceſſion of his to them, and not to us, he ſeeks heer to put off with evaſions that are ridiculous. And to omit no ſhifts, he alleges that the Preſbyterian manners gave him no encouragement to like thir *modes* of Goverment. If that were ſo, yet certainly thoſe men are in moſt likelihood neerer to amendment, who ſeek a ſtricter Church Diſcipline then that of Epiſcopacy; under which the moſt of

them learnt thir manners. If eſtimation were to be made of Gods Law by their manners who, leaving *Ægypt*, receav'd it in the Wilderneſs, it could reap from ſuch an inference as this, nothing but rejection and diſeſteem.

For the Prayer wherwith hee cloſes, it had bin good ſom ſafe Liturgie, which hee ſo commends, had rather bin in his way; it would perhaps in ſom meaſure have perform'd the end for which they ſay Liturgie was firſt invented; and have hinder'd him both heer, and at other times from turning his notorious errors into his Prayers.

XVIII. *Upon the* Uxbridge *Treaty*, &c.

IF *the way of Treaties be look'd upon* in general, *as a retiring* from beſtial force to human reaſon, his firſt Aphoriſm heer is in part deceav'd. For men may Treat like Beaſts as well as fight. If ſom fighting were not manlike, then either fortitude were no vertue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as Politicians oft times through dilatory purpoſes, and emulations handle the matter, there hath bin no where found more beſtialitie then in treating: which hath no more commendation in it, then from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft, and when they can no longer doe as Lions, to doe as Foxes.

The ſincereſt end of Treating after Warr once Proclaim'd, is either to part with more, or to demand leſs then was at firſt fought for, rather then to hazzard more lives, or worſe miſcheifs. What the Parlament in that point were willing to have don, when firſt after the Warr begun, they Petition'd him at *Colebrook* to voutſafe a Treaty, is unknown. For after hee had tak'n God to witneſs of his continual

readineſs to Treat, or to offer Treaties to the avoiding of bloodſhed, taking the advantage of a Miſt, the fitteſt weather for deceit and treachery, he follows at the heels thoſe Meſſengers of Peace with a traine of covert Warr: and with a bloody ſurpriſe falls on our ſecure Forces which lay Quartering at *Brentford* in the thoughts and expectation of a Treaty. And although in them who make a Trade of Warr, and againſt a natural Enemy, ſuch an onſet might in the rigor of Martial Law have bin excus'd, while Armes were not yet by agreement ſuſpended, yet by a King, who ſeem'd ſo heartily to accept of treating, and profeſſes heer, *He never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it*, profeſſes *to have greater confidence in his Reaſon, then in his Sword, and as a Chriſtian to ſeek Peace and enſue it*, ſuch bloody and deceitful advantages would have bin forborn one day at leaſt, if not much longer; in whom there had not bin a thirſt rather then a deteſtation of civil Warr and blood.

In the midſt of a ſecond Treaty not long after, ſought by the Parlament, and after much adoe obtain'd with him at *Oxford*, what ſuttle and unpeaceable deſignes he then had in chace, his own Letters diſcover'd: What attempts of treacherous hoſtility ſucceſsfull and unſucceſsfull he made againſt *Eriſtow*, *Scarborow*, and other places, the proceedings of that Treaty will ſoon put us in mind: and how hee was ſo farr from granting more of reaſon, after ſo much of blood, that he deny'd then to grant, what before he had offerd; making no other uſe of Treaties pretending Peace, then to gaine advantages that might enable him to continue Warr. What marvel then if *he thought it no diminution of himſelf*, as oft as he ſaw his time, *to be importunate for Treaties*, when hee ſought them onely, as by the upſhot appeard, *to get opportunities*.

But he inferrs, as if the Parlament would have

compell'd him *to part with* ſomthing of *his honour as a King*. What honour could he have, or call his, joyn'd, not onely with the offence or diſturbance, but with the bondage and deſtruction of three Nations; wherof though he be careleſs and improvident, yet the Parlament, by our Laws and freedom, ought to judge, and uſe prevention; our Laws els were but cobweb Laws. And what were all his moſt right-full honours, but the peoples gift, and the inveſtment of that luſtre, Majeſty, and honour, which for the public good and no otherwiſe, redounds from a whole Nation into one perſon? So farr is any honour from being his to a common miſcheif and calamity. Yet ſtill he talks on equal termes with the grand Repreſentative of that people, for whoſe ſake he was a King, as if the general welfare, and his ſubſervient Rights were of equal moment, or conſideration. His aime indeed hath ever bin to magnifie and exalt his borrow'd rights and Prerogatives, above the Parlament and Kingdom of whom he holds them. But when a King ſetts himſelf to bandy againſt the higheſt Court and reſidence of his Regal autority, hee then, in the ſingle perſon of a Man, fights againſt his own Majeſty and Kingſhip, and then indeed ſets the firſt hand to his own depoſing.

The Treaty at Uxbridge, hee ſaith, *gave the faireſt hopes of a happy compoſure*, faireſt indeed, if his inſtructions to bribe our Commiſſioners with the promiſe of *Security*, *rewards*, and *Places*, were faire: What other hopes it gave, no man can tell. There being but three maine heads whereon to be treated, *Ireland*, Epiſcopacy, and the Militia, the firſt was anticipated and foreſtall'd by a Peace at any rate to he haſt'nd with the Iriſh Rebells, ere the Treaty could begin; that he might pretend his word and honour paſt againſt *the ſpecious and popular arguments* (he calls them no better) which the Parlament would

urge upon him for the continuance of that juſt Warr. Epiſcopacy he bids the Queen be confident he will never quitt: which informes us by what Patronage it ſtood: and the Sword he reſolves to clutch as faſt, as if God with his own hand had put it into his. This was the *moderation which he brought*; this was *as farr as Reaſon, Honour, Conſcience*, and the Queen who was his Regent in all theſe, *would give him leave*. Laſtly for *compoſure*, in ſtead of *happy*, how miſerable it was more likely to have bin, wiſe men could then judge; when the Engliſh, during Treaty, were call'd Rebells, the Iriſh, good and Catholic Subjects; and the Parlament before hand, though for faſhions ſake call'd a Parlament, yet by a Jeſuitical ſlight not acknowledg'd though call'd ſo; but privatly in the Counſel Books inroull'd no Parlament: that if accommodation had ſucceeded upon what termes ſoever, ſuch a deviliſh fraud was prepar'd, that the King in his own eſteem had bin abſolv'd from all performance, as having treated with Rebells and no Parlament; and they on the other ſide in ſtead of an expected happineſs, had bin brought under the Hatchet. Then no doubt *Warr had ended*, that Maſſacher and Tyranny might begin. Theſe *jealouſies* however *rais'd*, let all men ſee whether they be diminiſh'd or *allayd*, by the Letters of his own Cabinet op'nd. And yet the breach of this Treaty is layd all upon the Parlament and thir Commiſſioners, with odious Names of *Pertinacy, hatred of Peace, Faction, and Covetouſneſs*, nay his own Bratt *Superſtition* is layd to their charge; notwithſtanding his heer profeſs'd reſolution to continue both *the Order, Maintenance, and Authority* of Prelats, as a truth of God.

And who *were moſt to blame in the unſuccesfulneſs of that Treaty*, his appeale is to Gods deciſion: *beleeving* to be *very excuſable* at that Tribunal. But if ever man *gloried in an unflexible ſtifneſs*, he came not

behind any: and that *grand Maxim*, always to put ſomthing into his Treaties, which might give *colour* to refuſe all that was in other things granted, and to make them *ſignifie nothing*, was his own principal Maxim, and particular inſtructions to his Commiſſioners. Yet all, by his own verdit, muſt be conſterd *Reaſon* in the King, and *depraved temper* in the Parlament.

That the *higheſt Tide of ſucceſs*, with theſe principles and deſignes, *ſet him not above a Treaty*, no great wonder. But that his *loweſt Ebb* could not be *lower then a Fight*, was a preſumption that ruin'd him.

He preſag'd the future *unſuccesfulneſs of Treaties by the unwillingneſs of ſom men to treat*, and could not ſee what was preſent, that thir unwillingneſs had good cauſe to proceed from the continual experience of his own obſtinacy and breach of word.

His Prayer therfore of *forgiveneſs* to the guilty of *that Treaties breaking*, he had good reaſon to ſay heartily over; as including no man in that guilt ſooner then himſelf.

As for that Proteſtation following in his Praier, *How oft have I entreated for peace, but when I ſpeak therof, they make them ready to Warr*, unleſs hee thought himſelf ſtill in that perfidious miſt, between *Colebrook* and *Hounds-low*, and thought that miſt could hide him from the eye of Heav'n as well as of Man, after ſuch a bloody recompence giv'n to our firſt offers of Peace, how could this in the ſight of Heav'n without horrours of conſcience be utter'd?

XIX. *Upon the various events of the Warr.*

IT is no new, or unwonted thing for bad men to claime as much part in God as his beſt ſervants; to uſurp and imitate thir words, and appropriate to themſelves thoſe properties which belong onely to the good and righteous. This not onely in Scripture is familiarly to be found, but heer alſo in this Chapter of *Apocrypha.* He tells us much, why *it pleas'd God* to ſend him Victory or Loſs (although what in ſo doing was the intent of God, he might be much miſtak'n as to his own particular) but wee are yet to learn what real good uſe hee made therof in his practice.

Thoſe numbers which he grew to *from ſmall beginnings*, were not ſuch as out of love came to protect him, for none approv'd his actions as a King, except Courtiers and Prelats, but were ſuch as fled to be protected by him from the feare of that Reformation which the pravity of thir lives would not beare. Such a Snowball hee might eaſily gather by rowling through thoſe cold and dark provinces of ignorance and leudneſs, where on a ſudden he became ſo numerous. He imputes that to Gods *protection*, which, to them who perſiſt in a bad cauſe, is either his long-ſuffering, or his hard'ning; and that to wholeſom *chaſtiſement*, which were the gradual beginnings of a ſevere puniſhment. For if neither God nor nature put civil power in the hands of any whomſoever, but to a lawfull end, and commands our obedience to the autority of Law onely, not to the Tyrannical force of any perſon, and if the Laws of our Land have plac'd the Sword in no mans ſingle hand, ſo much as to unſheath againſt a forren enemie, much leſs upon the native people, but have plac'd it

in that elective body of the Parlament, to whom the making, repealing, judging, and interpreting of Law it ſelf was alſo committed, as was fitteſt, ſo long as we intended to be a free Nation, and not the Slaves of one mans will, then was the King himſelf diſobedient and rebellious to that Law by which he raign'd; and by autority of Parlament to raiſe armes againſt him in defence of Law and Libertie, we doe not onely *think*, but beleeve and know was juſtifiable both *by the Word of God, the Laws of the Land, and all* lawfull *Oaths*; and they who ſided with him fought againſt all theſe.

The ſame Allegations, which hee uſes for himſelf and his Party, may as well fitt any Tyrant in the World: for let the Parlament be call'd a Faction when the King pleaſes, and that no Law muſt be made or chang'd either civil or religious, becauſe no Law will content *all ſides*, then muſt be made or chang'd no Law at all; but what a Tyrant, be he Proteſtant or Papiſt, thinks fitt. Which tyrannous aſſertion forc'd upon us by the Sword, he who fights againſt, and dyes fighting, if his other ſins overweigh not, dyes a *Martyr* undoubtedly both of the Faith and of the Common-wealth: and I hold it not as the opinion, but as the full beleif and perſuaſion of farr holier and wiſer Men then *Paraſitic Preachers*. Who, without their dinner-Doctrin, know that neither *King, Law, civil Oaths, or Religion*, was ever *eſtabliſh'd* without the Parlament: and thir power is the ſame to abrogate as to eſtabliſh: neither is any thing to be thought *eſtabliſh'd* which that Houſe declares to be aboliſht. Where the Parlament ſitts, there inſeparably ſitts the King, there the Laws, there our Oaths, and whatſoever can be civil in Religion. They who fought for the Parlament, in the trueſt ſenſe fought for all theſe; who fought for the King divided from his Parlament, fought for the ſhadow of a King againſt

all theſe; and for things that were not, as if they were *eſtabliſht*. It were a thing monſtrouſly abſurd and contradictory to give the Parlament a Legiſlative power, and then to upbraid them for tranſgreſſing old Eſtabliſhments.

But the King and his Party having loſt in this Quarrel thir Heav'n upon Earth, beginn to make great reckning of *Eternal life*, and at an eaſie rate *in forma Pauperis* Canonize one another into Heav'n; he them in his Book, they him in the Portrature before his Book: but, as was ſayd before, Stage-work will not doe it; much leſs *the juſtneſs of thir Cauſe;* wherin moſt frequently they dy'd *in a brutiſh feircneſs*, with Oaths and other damning words in thir mouths; as if ſuch had bin *all the Oaths* they fought for: which undoubtedly ſent them full Saile on another Voyage then to Heav'n. In the mean while they to whom God gave Victory, never brought to the King at *Oxford* the ſtate of thir *conſciences*, that hee ſhould preſume without confeſſion, more then a Pope preſumes, to tell abroad what *conflicts and accuſations*, men whom hee never ſpoke with, have *in thir own thoughts*. We never read of any Engliſh King but one that was a Confeſſor; and his name was *Edward:* yet ſure it paſs'd his ſkill to know thoughts, as this King takes upon him. But they who will not ſtick to ſlander mens inward conſciences, which they can neither ſee nor know, much leſs will care to ſlander outward actions, which they pretend to ſee, though with ſenſes never ſo vitiated.

To judge of *his condition conquerd*, and the manner of *dying* on that ſide, by the *ſober men* that *choſe* it, would be his ſmall advantage: it being moſt notorious, that they who were hotteſt in his Cauſe, the moſt of them were men oftner drunk, then by thir good will ſober, and very many of them ſo fought and ſo dy'd.

And that *the conſcience* of any man ſhould grow *ſuſpicious*, or *be now convicted* by any *pretentions* in the Parlament, which are now prov'd *fals, and unintended*, there can be no juſt cauſe. For neither did they ever pretend to eſtabliſh his Throne without our Liberty and Religion, nor Religion without the Word of God, nor to judge of Laws by thir being *eſtabliſht*, but to eſtabliſh them by thir being good and neceſſary.

He tells the World *He oft'n prayd that all on his ſide might be as faithfull to God and thir own ſouls, as to him.* But Kings, above all other men, have in thir hands not to pray onely but to doe. To make that prayer effectual, he ſhould have govern'd as well as prayd. To pray and not to govern is for a Monk and not a King. Till then he might be well aſſur'd they were more *faithfull* to thir luſt and rapine then to him.

In the wonted predication of his own vertues he goes on to tell us, that to *Conquer he never deſir'd, but onely to reſtore the Laws and Liberties of his people.* It had bin happy then he had known at laſt, that by force to reſtore Laws abrogated by the Legiſlative Parlament, is to conquer abſolutely both them, and Law it ſelfe. And for our Liberties, none ever oppreſs'd them more, both in Peace and Warr; firſt like a maiſter by his arbitrary power; next as an enemy by hoſtile invaſion.

And if his beſt freinds fear'd him, and *he himſelf, in the temptation of an abſolute Conqueſt*, it was not only pious but freindly in the Parlament, both to fear him and reſiſt him; ſince their not yeelding, was the onely meanes to keep him out of that *temptation* wherin he doubted his own ſtrength.

He takes himſelf to be *guilty in this Warr of nothing* els, *but of confirming the power of ſome Men:* Thus all along he ſignifies the Parlament, whom to

have ſettl'd by an Act he counts to be his onely guiltineſs. So well hee knew that to continue a Parlament, was to raiſe a Warr againſt himſelf; what were his actions then and his Goverment the while? For never was it heard in all our Story, that Parlaments made Warr on thir Kings, but on thir Tyrants; whoſe *modeſty and gratitude* was more wanting to the Parlament, then theirs to any of ſuch Kings.

What he *yeelded* was his feare; what he *deny'd* was his obſtinacy; *had hee yeilded more*, feare might perchance have ſav'd him; had hee granted *leſs*, his obſtinacy had perhapps the ſooner deliver'd us.

To review the occaſions of this Warr will be to them never *too late*, who would be warn'd by his example from the like evils: but *to wiſh onely a happy concluſion*, will never expiate the fault of his *unhappy beginnings*. Tis true on our ſide the ſins of our lives not ſeldom fought againſt us: but on their ſide, beſides thoſe, the grand ſin of thir Cauſe.

How can it be otherwiſe when *hee deſires* heer moſt unreaſonably, and indeed ſacrilegiouſly, that we ſhould be *ſubject to him*, though not *furder*, yet as farr as *all of us may be ſubject to God;* to whom this expreſſion leaves no precedency. Hee who *deſires* from men as much obedience and ſubjection, as we may all pay to God, deſires not leſs then to be a God; a ſacrilege farr wors then medling with the Biſhops Lands, as he eſteems it.

His Praier is a good Praier and a glorious; but glorying is not good, if it know not that a little leven, levens the whole lump. It ſhould have purg'd out the leven of untruth in telling God that the *blood of his Subjects by him ſhedd* was *in his juſt and neceſſary defence*. Yet this is remarkable; God hath heer ſo orderd his Prayer, that as his own lipps acquitted the Parlament, not long before his death, of

all the blood ſpilt in this Warr, ſo now his Prayer unwittingly drawes it upon himſelf. For God *imputes* not to any man the blood he ſpills in a juſt cauſe; and no man ever begg'd his *not imputing* of that which hee in his juſtice could not impute. So that now whether purpoſely, or unaware hee hath confeſs'd both to God and Man the bloodguiltineſs of all this Warr to lie upon his own head.

XX. *Upon the Reformation of the times.*

THis Chapter cannot punctually be anſwer'd without more repetitions then now can be excuſable: Which perhaps have already bin more humour'd then was needfull. As it preſents us with nothing new, ſo with his exceptions againſt Reformation pittifully old, and tatter'd with continual uſing; not onely in his Book, but in the words and Writings of every Papiſt and Popiſh King. On the Scene he thruſts out firſt an Antimaſque of two bugbeares, *Noveltie* and *Perturbation;* that the ill looks and noiſe of thoſe two, may, as long as poſſible, drive off all endeavours of a Reformation, Thus ſought Pope *Adrian* by repreſenting the like vain terrors, to divert and diſſipate the zeale of thoſe reforming Princes of the age before in *Germany*. And if we credit *Latimers* Sermons, our Papiſts heer in *England* pleaded the ſame dangers and inconveniencies againſt that which was reform'd by *Edward* the ſixth. Whereas if thoſe feares had bin available, Chriſtianity it ſelf had never bin receav'd. Which Chriſt foretold us, would not be admitted without the cenſure of noveltie and many great commotions. Theſe therfore are not to deterr us.

He grants Reformation to be *a good worke*, and

confeſſes *What the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have deprav'd.* So did the forementioned Pope, and our Grandſire Papiſts in this Realm. Yet all of them agree in one ſong with this heer, that *they are ſorry to ſee ſo little regard had to Laws eſtabliſht, and the Religion ſettl'd.*

Popular compliance, diſſolution of all order and goverment in the Church, Sciſms, Opinions, Undecencies, Confuſions, Sacrilegious invaſions, contempt of the Clergie, and thir Liturgie, Diminution of Princes: all theſe complaints are to be read in the Meſſages and Speeches almoſt of every Legat from the Pope to thoſe States and Citties which began Reformation. From whence he either learnt the ſame pretences, or had them naturally in him from the ſame ſpirit. Neither was there ever ſo ſincere a Reformation that hath eſcap'd theſe clamours.

He offer'd a *Synod or Convocation rightly choſen.* So offerd all thoſe Popiſh Kings heertofore; a cours the moſt unſatisfactory, as matters have bin long carried, and found by experience in the Church liable to the greateſt fraud and packing: no ſolution, or redreſs of evil, but an increaſe rather, deteſted therfore by *Nazianzen* and ſom other of the Fathers. And let it be produc'd, what good hath bin don by Synods from the firſt times of Reformation.

Not to juſtifie what enormities the Vulgar may committ in the rudeneſs of thir zeale, we need but onely inſtance how he bemoanes *the pulling down of Croſſes* and other ſuperſtitious Monuments, as the effect *of a popular and deceitfull Reformation.* How little this ſavours of a Proteſtant, is too eaſily perceav'd.

What he charges in defect of *Piety, Charity, and Morality,* hath bin alſo charg'd by Papiſts upon the beſt reformed Churches: not as if they the accuſers were not tenfold more to be accus'd, but out of thir

Malignity to all endeavour of amendment; as we know who accus'd to God the ſincerity of *Job;* an accuſation of all others the moſt eaſie, when as there livs not any mortal man ſo excellent, who in theſe things is not alwaies deficient. But the infirmities of beſt men, and the ſcandals of mixt Hypocrites in all times of reforming, whoſe bold intruſion covets to be ever ſeene in things moſt ſacred as they are moſt ſpecious, can lay no juſt blemiſh upon the integritie of others, much leſs upon the purpoſe of Reformation it ſelf. Neither can the evil doings of ſome be the excuſe of our delaying or deſerting that duty to the Church, which for no reſpect of times or carnal policies can be at any time unſeaſonable.

He tells with great ſhew of piety what kind of perſons *public Reformers* ought to be, and what they ought to doe. Tis ſtrange that in above twenty yeares, the Church growing ſtill wors and wors under him, he could neither be as he bids others be, nor doe, as he pretends heer ſo well to know; nay, which is worſt of all, after the greateſt part of his Raign ſpent in neither knowing nor doing aught toward a Reformation either in Church or State, ſhould ſpend the reſidue in hindring thoſe by a ſeven yeares Warr, whom it concernd with his conſent or without it to doe thir parts in that great performance.

Tis true that the *method of reforming* may well ſubſiſt without *perturbation of the State;* but that it falls out otherwiſe for the moſt part, is the plaine Text of Scripture. And if by his own rule hee had allow'd us *to feare God firſt*, and the King in due order, our Allegeance might have ſtill follow'd our Religion in a fit ſubordination. But if *Chriſts Kingdom* be tak'n for the true Diſcipline of the Church, and by *his Kingdom* be meant the violence hee us'd againſt it, and to uphold an Antichriſtian Hierarchie,

then ſure anough it is, that Chriſts Kingdom could *not be ſet up* without *pulling down his:* And they were beſt Chriſtians who were leaſt ſubject to him. *Chriſts Goverment*, out of queſtion meaning it Prelatical, hee thought would *confirm his:* and this was that which *overthrew it.*

He profeſſes *to owne his Kingdom from Chriſt, and to deſire to rule for his glory, and the Churches good:* The Pope and the King of *Spaine* profeſs every where as much; and both his practice and all his reaſonings, all his enmitie againſt the true Church wee ſee hath bin the ſame with theirs, ſince the time that in his Letter to the Pope hee aſſur'd them both of his full compliance. *But evil beginnings never bring forth good concluſions:* they are his own words, and he ratifi'd them by his own ending. To the Pope hee ingag'd himſelf to hazzard life and eſtate for the Roman Religion, whether in complement he did it, or in earneſt; and God, who ſtood neerer then hee for complementing minded, writ down thoſe words; that according to his reſolution, ſo it ſhould come to paſs. He praies againſt *his hypocriſie and Phariſaical waſhings*, a Prayer to him moſt pertinent, but choaks it ſtraight with other words which pray him deeper into his old errors and deluſions.

XXI. *Upon His Letters tak'n and divulg'd.*

THe Kings Letters taken at the Battell of *Naſeby*, being of greateſt importance to let the people ſee what Faith there was in al his promiſes and ſolemn proteſtations, were tranſmitted to public view by ſpecial Order of the Parlament. They diſcover'd his good affection to Papiſts and Iriſh Rebels, the ſtreit intelligence he held, the pernicious and diſhonourable

Peace he made with them, not ſollicited but rather ſolliciting, which by all invocations that were holy hee had in public abjur'd. They reveal'd his endeavours to bring in forren Forces, Iriſh, French, Dutch, Lorrainers, and our old Invaders the Danes upon us, beſides his ſuttleties and myſterious arts in treating: to ſumm up all, they ſhewd him govern'd by a Woman. All which though ſuſpected vehemently before, and from good grounds beleev'd, yet by him and his adherents peremptorily deny'd, were, by the op'ning of that Cabinet, viſible to all men under his own hand.

The Parlament therfore to cleer themſelves of aſperſing him without cauſe, and that the people might no longer be abus'd and cajol'd, as they call it, by falſities and Court impudence, in matters of ſo high concernment, to let them know on what termes thir duty ſtood, and the Kingdoms peace, conceavd it moſt expedient and neceſſary, that thoſe Letters ſhould be made public. This the King affirmes was by them don without *honour and civilitie:* words, which if they contain not in them, as in the language of a Courtier moſt commonly they doe not, more of ſubſtance and realitie then complement, Ceremony, Court fauning and diſſembling, enter not I ſuppoſe furder then the eare into any wiſe mans conſideration. Matters were not then between the Parlament and a King thir enemie in that State of trifling, as to obſerv thoſe ſuperficial vanities. But if honour and civilitie mean, as they did of old, diſcretion, honeſty, prudence, and plaine truth, it will be then maintain'd againſt any Sect of thoſe *Cabaliſts*, that the Parlament in doing what they did with thoſe Letters, could ſuffer in thir honour and civilitie no diminution. The reaſons are alreadie heard.

And that it is with none more familiar then with Kings, to tranſgreſs the bounds of all honour and

civility, there ſhould not want examples good ſtore, if brevity would permitt; In poynt of Letters this one ſhall ſuffice. The *Ducheſs* of *Burgundie* and heire of *Duke Charles*, had promis'd to her Subjects that ſhee intended no otherwiſe to Govern, then by adviſe of the three Eſtates; but to *Lewis* the French King had writt'n Letters, that ſhee had reſolv'd to committ wholly the mannaging of her affaires to foure Perſons, whom ſhee nam'd. The three Eſtates not doubting the ſincerity of her Princely word, ſend Embaſſadors to *Lewis*, who then beſeig'd *Arras* belonging to the Dukes of *Burgondy*. The King taking hold of this occaſion to ſet them at diviſion among themſelves, queſtion'd thir Credence; which when they offerd to produce with thir inſtructions, he not only ſhewes them the privat Letter of thir Ducheſs, but gives it them to carry home, wherewith to affront her; which they did, ſhee denying it ſtoutly; till they, ſpredding it before her face in a full aſſembly, convicted her of an op'n lye. Which although *Commines* the hiſtorian much blames, as a deed too harſh and diſhonourable in them who were Subjects, and not at Warr with thir Princeſs, yet to his Maiſter *Lewis*, who firſt divulg'd thoſe Letters, to the op'n ſhaming of that young Governeſs, he imputes no incivilitie or diſhonour at all, although betraying a certaine confidence repos'd by that Letter in his royal ſecrecie.

With much more reaſon then may letters not intercepted only, but won in battell from an enemie, be made public to the beſt advantages of them that win them, to the diſcovery of ſuch important truth or falſhood. Was it not more diſhonourable in himſelf to faine ſuſpicions and jealouſies, which we firſt found among thoſe Letters, touching the chaſtitie of his Mother, thereby to gaine aſſiſtance from the King of *Denmark*, as in vindication of his Siſter?

The Damſell of *Burgundie*, at ſight of her own letter, was ſoon blank, and more ingenuous then to ſtand outfacing; but this man whom nothing will convince, thinks by talking world without end, to make good his integrity and faire dealing contradicted by his own hand and ſeale. They who can pick nothing out of them but phraſes ſhall be counted *Bee's:* they that diſcern furder both there and heer, that *conſtancy to his Wife* is ſet in place before Laws and Religion, are in his naturalities no better then *Spiders.*

He would work the people to a perſwaſion, that *if he be miſerable they cannot be happy.* What ſhould hinder them? Were they all born Twins of *Hippocrates* with him and his fortune, one birth one burial? It were a Nation miſerable indeed, not worth the name of a Nation, but a race of Idiots, whoſe happineſs and welfare depended upon one Man. The happineſs of a Nation conſiſts in true Religion, Piety, Juſtice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and the contempt of Avarice and Ambition. They in whomſoever theſe vertues dwell eminently, need not Kings to make them happy, but are the architects of thir own happineſs; and whether to themſelves or others are not leſs then Kings. But in him, which of theſe vertues were to be found, that might extend to the making happy, or the well-governing of ſo much as his own houſhold, which was the moſt licentious and ill-govern'd in the whole Land.

But the op'ning of his Letters was deſign'd by the Parlament to make *all reconciliation deſperate.* Are the lives of ſo many good and faithfull men, that dy'd for the freedom of thir Country, to be ſo ſlighted, as to be forgott'n in a ſtupid reconcilement without Juſtice don them? What he feares not by Warr and ſlaughter, ſhould we feare *to make deſperate* by op'ning his Letters? Which fact hee would parallell

with *Chams* revealing of his Fathers nakedneſs: When hee at that time could be no way eſteem'd *the Father of his Countrey*, but the deſtroyer; nor had hee ever before merited that former title.

He thanks God he cannot onely beare this with patience, but with charity forgive the doers. Is not this meer mockery to thank God for what hee can doe, but will not? For is it patience to impute *Barbariſm and inhumanity* to the op'ning of an Enemies Letter, or is it Charity to cloath them with curſes in his Prayer, whom he hath forgiv'n in his Diſcours. In which Prayer to ſhew how readily he can return good for evil to the Parlament, and that if they take away his Coat, he can let them have his Cloak alſo, for the diſmantling of his Letters he wiſhes *They may be cover'd with the Cloak of confuſion.* Which I ſuppoſe they doe reſigne with much willingneſs, both Livery, Badge, and Cognizance, to them who choſe rather to be his Servants and Vaſſals, then to ſtand againſt him for the Liberty of thir Country.

XXII. *Upon His going to the Scots.*

THe Kings comming in, whether to the Scots or Engliſh, deſerv'd no thanks: For *neceſſity was his Counſelor:* and that he hated them both alike, his expreſſions every where manifeſt. Som ſay his purpoſe was to have come to *London*, till hearing how ſtrictly it was proclaim'd that no man ſhould conceal him, he diverted his courſe. But that had bin a frivolous excuſe: and beſides hee himſelf rehearſing the conſultations had, before he took his journey, ſhews us cleerly that hee was determin'd to adventure *upon their Loyalty who firſt began his troubles.* And that the Scots had notice of it before, hath bin long ſince

brought to light. What prudence there could be in it, no man can imagin; Malice there might be, by raiſing new jealouſies to divide Freinds. For beſides his diffidence of the Engliſh, it was no ſmall diſhonour that he put upon them, when rather then yeild himſelf to the Parlament of *England*, he yeelded to a hireling Army of Scots in *England*, payd for thir Service heer, not in Scotch coyn, but in Engliſh Silver; nay who from the firſt beginning of theſe troubles, what with brotherly aſſiſtance, and what with mounthly pay, have defended thir own Liberty and conſciences at our charge. However it was a hazzardous and raſh journey taken, *to reſolve riddles in mens Loyaltie*, who had more reaſon to miſtruſt the Riddle of ſuch a diſguiſed yeelding: and to put himſelf in their hands whoſe loyalty was a Riddle to him, was not the cours to be reſolv'd of it, but to tempt it. *What providence deny'd to force*, he thought *it might grant* to fraud, which he ſtiles *Prudence:* But Providence was not couzen'd with diſguiſes, neither outward nor inward.

To have known *his greateſt danger in his ſuppoſed ſafety, and his greateſt ſafety in his ſuppoſed danger* was to him a fatall Riddle never yet reſolv'd; wherin rather to have imployd his main ſkill, had bin much more to his preſervation.

Had he *known when the Game was loſt*, it might have ſav'd much *conteſt:* but the way *to give over fairely*, was not to ſlip out of op'n Warr into a new diſguiſe. He layes down his Armes, but not his Wiles; nor all his Armes, for in obſtinacy hee comes no leſs arm'd then ever, *Cap a pè*. And what were they but wiles, continually to move for Treaties, and yet to perſiſt the ſame man, and to *fortifie his mind* before hand, ſtill purpoſing to grant no more then what ſeem'd good to that violent and lawleſs Triumvirate within him, under the falſifi'd names of his

Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, the old circulating dance of his ſhifts and evaſions.

The words of a King, as they are *full of power*, in the autority and ſtrength of Law, ſo like *Sampſon*, without the ſtrength of that *Nazarites* lock, they have no more power in them then the words of another Man.

He adores Reaſon as *Domitian* did *Minerva*, and calls her the *Divineſt power*, thereby to intimate as if at reaſoning, as at his own weapon, no man were ſo able as himſelf. Might wee be ſo happy as to know where theſe monuments of his Reaſon may be ſeen, for in his actions and his writing they appeare as thinly as could be expected from the meaneſt parts, bredd up in the midſt of ſo many wayes extraordinary to know ſomthing. He who reads his talk, would think he had left *Oxford* not without mature deliberation: Yet his Prayer confeſſes that *he knew not what to doe*. Thus is verifi'd that Pſalme; *He poureth contempt upon Princes and cauſeth them to wander in the Wilderneſs where there is no way*, *Pſal.* 107.

XXIII. *Upon the Scots delivering the King to the Engliſh.*

THat the Scots in England ſhould *ſell thir King*, as he himſelf here affirmes, and for a *price ſo much above that*, which the covetouſneſs of *Judas* was contented with to ſell *our Saviour*, is ſo foule an infamy and diſhonour caſt upon them, as befitts none to vindicate but themſelves. And it were but friendly Councel to wiſh them beware the Son, who comes among them with a firme beleif that they ſould his Father. The reſt of this Chapter he Sacrifices to the Echo of his Conſcience, outbabling Creeds and Ave's, glorying in his

resolute obstinacy, and as it were triumphing how *evident it is now*, that *not evill Councellors*, but he himself hath been the Author of all our troubles. Herein onely we shall disagree to the Worlds end, while he who sought so manifestly to have annihilated all our Laws and Liberties, hath the confidence to perswade us that he hath *fought* and *suffer'd* all this while in thir defence.

But he who neither by his own Letters and Commissions under hand and Seale, nor by his own actions held as in a Mirror before his face, will be convinc'd to see his faults, can much less be won upon by any force of words, neither he, nor any that take after him; who in that respect are no more to be disputed with, then they who deny Principles. No question then, but the Parlament did wisely in thir decree at last, to make no more addresses. For how unalterable his will was, that would have bin our Lord, how utterly averse from the Parlament, and Reformation, during his confinement, we may behold in this Chapter. But to be ever Answering fruitless Repetitions, I should become liable to answer for the same my self. He borrows *Davids* Psalmes, as he charges the *Assembly of Divines* in his twentith Discourse, *To have set forth old Catechisms and confessions of faith new drest*. Had he borrow'd *Davids* heart, it had bin much the holier theft. For such kind of borrowing as this, if it be not better'd by the borrower, among good Authors is accounted *Plagiarie*. However, this was more tolerable then *Pammela's* Praier, stol'n out of Sir *Philip*.

XIV. *Upon the denying him the attendance of his Chaplains.*

A Chaplain is a thing ſo diminutive, and inconſiderable, that how he ſhould come heer among matters of ſo great concernment, to take ſuch room up in the Diſrſes of a Prince, if it be not wonderd, is to be l'd at. Certainly by me, ſo mean an argument l not be writt'n; but I ſhall huddle him as he s Prayers. The Scripture ownes no ſuch order, ſuch function in the Church; and the Church owning them, they are left, for ought I know, uch a furder examining as the Sons of *Sceva* the r met with; Biſhops or Preſbyters we know and ıcons we know, but what are Chaplains? In e perhaps they may be liſted among the upper vingmen of ſom great houſhold, and be admitted om ſuch place, as may ſtile them the Sewers, or Yeomen Uſhers of Devotion, where the Maiſter ɔo reſtie, or too rich to ſay his own Prayers, or ›leſs his own Table. Wherfore ſhould the Parent then take ſuch implements of the Court ɔbord into thir conſideration? They knew them ave bin the main corrupters at the Kings elbow: y knew the King to have bin always thir moſt ntive Scholar, and Imitator, and of a Child to e ſuckt from them and thir Cloſetwork all his ›otent Principles of Tyrannie and Superſtition. ıile therfore they had any hope left of his reclaim-, theſe ſowers of Malignant Tares they kept aſunfrom him: and ſent to him ſuch of the Miniſters other Zealous Perſons, as they thought were beſt : to Inſtruct him, and to convert him. What ld Religion her ſelf have don more to the ſaving ı Soule? But when they found him paſt Cure,

and that he to himſelf was grown the moſt evill Counſeler of all, they deny'd him not his Chaplains, as many as were fitting, and ſom of them attended him, or els were at his call to the very laſt. Yet heer he makes more Lamentation for the want of his Chaplains, then ſuperſtitious *Micah* did to the *Danites*, who had tak'n away his houſhold Prieſt. *Yee have tak'n away my Gods which I made, and the Prieſt, and what have I more?* And perhaps the whole Story of *Micah* might ſquare not unfitly to this Argument: *Now know I*, ſaith he, *that the Lord will doe mee good ſeeing I have a Levite to my Prieſt. Micah* had as great a care that his Prieſt ſhould be Moſaicall, as the King had that his ſhould be *Apoſtolical;* yet both in an error touching thir Prieſts. Houſhold and privat Oriſons were not to be officiated by Prieſts; for neither did public Prayer appertain onely to their office. Kings heertofore, *David, Salomon,* and *Jeboſaphat*, who might not touch the Prieſthood, yet might pray in public, yea in the Temple, while the Prieſts themſelves ſtood and heard. What aild this King then that hee could not chew his own Mattins without the Prieſts *Ore tenus?* Yet is it like hee could not pray at home, who can heer publiſh a whole Prayer-book of his own, and ſignifies in ſom part of this Chapter, almoſt as good a mind to be a Prieſt himſelf, as *Micah* had to let his Son be. There was doubtleſs therfore ſome other matter in it which made him ſo deſirous to have his Chaplaines about him, who were not onely the contrivers, but very oft the inſtruments alſo of his deſignes.

The Miniſters which were ſent him no marvel hee indur'd not; for they Preacht repentance to him: the others gave him eaſie confeſſion, eaſie abſolution, nay *ſtrength'nd his hands and hard'nd his heart*, by applauding him in his wilfull wayes. To them he was an *Ahab*, to theſe a *Conſtantine;* it muſt follow then

hat they to him were as unwelcome as *Eliah* was to *Ahab*, these as deer, and pleasing as *Amaziah* the Priest of *Bethel* was to *Jeroboam*. These had learnt well the lesson that would please; *Prophesie not against Bethel, for it is the Kings Chappel, the Kings Court;* and had taught the King to say of those Ministers which the Parlament had sent, *Amos hath conspir'd against me, the Land is not able to beare all his words.*

Returning to our first Parallell, this King lookt upon his Prelats *as Orphans under the sacrilegious eyes of many rapacious Reformers:* and there was as great feare of Sacrilege between *Micah* and his Mother, ill with thir holy treasure, about the loss whereof here was such cursing, they made a grav'n and a molt'n *Image*, and got a Priest of thir own. To let goe his Criticizing about the *sound of Prayers, imperious, rude, or passionat*, modes of his own devising, we are in danger to fall again upon the flats and hallows of Liturgie. Which if I should repeat again, would turn my answers into *Responsories*, and begett another Liturgie, having too much of one already.

This onely I shall add, that if the heart, as he alleges, cannot safely *joyn with another mans extemporal sufficiency*, because wee know not so exactly what they mean to say, then those public Prayers made in the Temple by those forenamed Kings, and by the Apostles in the Congregation, and by the ancient Christians for above three hundred yeares before Liturgies came in, were with the people made in vain.

After he hath acknowledg'd that Kings heertofore prayd without Chaplains, eev'n publicly in the Temple it self, and that every *privat Beleever is invested with a royall Priesthood*, yet like one that relisht not what he *tasted of the heav'nly gift, and the good word of God* whose name he so confidently takes into his mouth, he frames to himself impertinent and vain reasons, why he should rather pray by the officiating

mouth of a Closet-Chaplain. *Their Prayers*, saith he, *are more prevalent, they flow from minds more enlightn'd, from affections less distracted.* Admitt this true, which is not; this might be somthing said as to thir prayers for him, but what availes it to thir praying with him? If his owne minde *be incumbred with secular affaires*, what helps it his particular prayer, though the mind of his Chaplain be not wandring, either after new preferment, or his Dinner? The fervencie of one man in prayer, cannot supererogate for the coldness of another; neither can *his spirituall defects* in that duty be made out, in the acceptance of God, by another mans abilities. Let him endeavour to have more light in himself: And not to walk by another mans lamp, but to get Oyle into his own. Let him cast from him, as in a Christian warrfare, that secular incumbrance which either distracts, or overloads him; his load els will never be the less heavie, because another mans is light. Thus these pious flourishes and colours examin'd throughly, are like the Apples of *Asphaltis*, appearing goodly to the sudden eye, but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turne into Cinders.

In his Prayer hee remembers what *voices of joy and gladness* there were in his Chappell, *Gods house*, in his opinion, between the Singing men and the Organs; and this was *unity of spirit in the bond of peace;* the vanity, superstition, and misdevotion of which place, was a scandall farr and neer: Wherin so many things were sung, and pray'd in those Songs, which were not understood: and yet he who makes a difficulty how the people can joyne thir hearts to extemporal prayers, though distinctly heard and understood, makes no question how they should joyn thir hearts in unitie to songs not understood.

I beleeve that God is no more mov'd with a prayer elaboratly pend, then men truely charitable are mov'd with the pen'd speech of a Begger.

Finally O yee Miniſters read heer what work he nakes among your Gally Pots, your *Balmes* and *Cor-'ials*, and not onely your *ſweet Sippets* in Widdows ıouſes, but the huge gobbets wherewith he charges 'ou to have devourd houſes and all; the *houſes of 'our Brethren, your King, and your God.* Crie him ıp for a Saint in your Pulpits, while he cries you lown for Atheiſts into Hell.

XXV. *Upon His penitentiall Meditations and Vowes at* Holmby.

IT is not hard for any man, who hath a Bible in his hands, to borrow good words and holy ſayings in abundance; but to make them his own, is a work of grace ›nely from above. He borrows heer many penitenial Verſes out of *Davids* Pſalmes. So did many ımong thoſe Iſraelites, who had revolted from the :rue worſhip of God, *invent to themſelves inſtruments 'f muſic like David*, and probably Pſalmes alſo like ıis, and yet the Profet *Amos* complaines heavily ıgainſt them. But to prove how ſhort this is of :rue repentance, I will recite the penitence of others, who have repented in words not borrowd but thir ›wn, and yet by the doom of Scripture it ſelf are udg'd reprobates.

Cain ſayd unto the Lord, *My iniquity is greater 'hen I can beare, behold thou haſt driv'n me this day 'rom the face of the earth, and from thy face ſhall I 'e hid.*

And when Eſau *heard the words of his Father he :ry'd with an exceeding bitter cry, and ſaid, Bleſs me 'ev'n me alſo O my Father;* yet *found no place of re-›entance though he ſought it carefully with teares, Heb.* 12.

And *Pharaoh* ſaid to *Moſes*, *The Lord is righteous, I and my people are wicked; I have ſin'd againſt the Lord your God and againſt you.*

And *Balaam* ſaid, *Let me die the death of the righteous and let my laſt end be like his.*

And *Saul* ſaid to *Samuel*, *I have ſin'd, for I have tranſgreſs'd the commandment of the Lord; yet honour mee now I pray thee before the Elders of my People.*

And when Ahab *heard the words of* Eliah, *he rent his cloaths and put ſackcloth upon his fleſh, and faſted, and lay in ſackcloth, and went ſoftly.*

Jehoram alſo *rent his cloaths, and the people look'd, and behold he had ſackcloth upon his fleſh,* yet in the very act of his humiliation he could ſay, *God doe ſo, and more alſo to me, if the head of* Eliſhah *ſhall ſtand on him this day.*

Therfore *ſaith the Lord, They have not cri'd unto me with thir heart, when they howl'd upon thir beds. They returne, but not to the moſt High. Hoſea* 7.

And *Judas* ſayd, *I have ſin'd, in that I have betray'd innocent blood.*

And *Simon Magus* ſayd, *Pray yee to the Lord for me that none of theſe things come upon me.*

All theſe took the paines both to confeſs and to repent in thir own words, and many of them in thir own tears, not in *Davids*. But tranſported with the vain oſtentation of imitating *Davids* language, not his life, obſerve how hee brings a curſe upon himſelf and his Fathers houſe (God ſo diſpoſing it) by his uſurp'd and ill imitated prayer, *Let thy anger I beſeech thee be againſt me and my Fathers houſe, as for theſe Sheep what have they don.* For if *David* indeed ſind in numbring the people, of which fault he in earneſt made that confeſſion, and acquitted the whole people from the guilt of that ſin, then doth this King, uſing the ſame words, bear witneſs againſt himſelf to be the guilty perſon, and either in his ſoule and

nſcience heer acquitts the Parlament and the peo-
e, or els abuſes the words of *David*, and diſſembles
oſſly eev'n to the face of God; which is apparent
the very next line; wherein he accuſes eev'n the
hurch it ſelf to God, as if ſhee were *the Churches
emie*, for having overcom his Tyranny by the pow-
full and miraculous might of Gods manifeſt arme:
or to other ſtrength in the midſt of our diviſions
d diſorders, who can attribute our Victories? Thus
d this miſerable Man no worſe enemies to ſollicit
d mature his own deſtruction from the haſtn'd ſen-
nce of Divine Juſtice, then the obdurat curſes which
oceeded againſt himſelf out of his own mouth.

Hitherto his Meditations, now his Vowes, which
the Vowes of hypocrits uſe to be, are moſt com-
only abſurd, and ſom wicked. *Jacob* vow'd that
od ſhould be his God, if he granted him but what
as neceſſary to perform that vow, life and ſubſiſ-
nce: but the obedience profferd heer is nothing ſo
eap. He who took ſo hainouſly to be offer'd nine-
en Propoſitions from the Parlament, capitulates
eer with God almoſt in as many Articles.

If he will continue that light or rather that darkneſs
f the Goſpel, which is among his Prelats, ſettle thir
xuries, and make them gorgeous Biſhops,

If he will *reſtore* the greevances and miſcheifs of
oſe obſolete and Popiſh Laws, which the Parla-
ent without his conſent hath abrogated, and will
ffer Juſtice to be executed according to his ſenſe,

If hee will ſuppreſs the many Sciſms in Church, to
ntradict himſelf in that which he hath foretold
uſt and ſhall come to paſs, and will remove Re-
rmation as the greateſt Sciſm of all, and Factions
the State, by which he meanes in every leafe the
arlament,

If he will *reſtore him* to his negative voice and
e Militia, as much as to ſay to arbitrary power,

which he wrongfully averrs to be the *right of his Predeceſſors*,

If he will turne the hearts of his people to thir old Cathedral and Parochial ſervice in the Liturgie, and thir paſſive obedience to the King,

If he will quench the Army, and withdraw our Forces from withſtanding the Piracy of *Rupert*, and the plotted Iriſh invaſion,

If he will bleſs him with the freedom of Biſhops again in the Houſe of Peers, and of fugitive Delinquents in the Houſe of Commons, *and deliver the honour of Parlament* into his hands, from the moſt natural and due protection of the people, that entruſted them with the dangerous enterprize of being faithfull to thir Country againſt the rage and malice of his tyrannous oppoſition,

If he will keep him from that great offence of following the counſel of his Parlament, and *enacting* what they adviſe him to, which in all reaſon, and by the known Law and Oath of his Coronation he ought to doe, and not to call that *Sacrilege* which neceſſity through the continuance of his own civil Warr hath compell'd them to, neceſſity, which made *David* eat the Shew-bread, made *Ezechiah* take all the Silver which was found in Gods Houſe, and cut off the Gold which overlayd thoſe dores and Pillars, and give it to *Sennacherib;* neceſſitie, which ofttimes made the Primitive Church to ſell her ſacred utenſils, eev'n to the Communion Chalice, •

If hee will reſtore him to a capacity of glorifying him by doing that both in Church and State, which muſt needs diſhonour and pollute his name,

If he will bring him again with peace, honour and ſafety to his cheife Citty, without repenting, without ſatisfying for the blood ſpilt, onely for a few politic conceſſions which are as good as nothing,

If he will put again the Sword into his hand, to puniſh

:hat have deliver'd us, and to *protect* Delin-
againſt the Juſtice of Parlament,
n, if it be poſſible to reconcile contradictions,
praiſe him by diſpleaſing him, and ſerve him
ɜrving him.
glory, in the gaudy Copes, and painted Win-
Miters, Rochets, Altars, and the chanted Ser-
ook *ſhall be dearer to him* then the eſtabliſhing
wne in righteouſneſs, and the ſpiritual power
gion.
will pardon thoſe that have offended him in par-
, but there ſhall want no ſuttle wayes to be
ith them upon another ſcore of thir ſuppos'd
s againſt the Common-wealth; wherby he
: once affect the glory of a ſeeming juſtice,
ſtroy them pleaſantly, while he faines to for-
em as to his own particular, and outwardly
ɜs them.
ſe are the conditions of his treating with God,
m he bates nothing of what he ſtood upon
he Parlament: as if Commiſſions of Array
leale with him alſo. But of all theſe condi-
s it is now evident in our eyes, God accepted
but that final Petition which he ſo oft, no
ut by the ſecret judgement of God, impor-
gainſt his own head; praying God, *That his*
might be ſo toward him, as his reſolutions of
and Peace were toward his people. It follows
od having cutt him off without granting any
ɜ mercies, that his reſolutions were as fained
Vowes were fruſtrat.

XXVI. *Upon the Armies surprisall of the King at* Holmeby.

TO give account to Royalists what was don with thir vanquisht King, yeilded up into our hands, is not to be expected from them whom God hath made his Conquerors. And for Brethren to debate and rippe up thir falling out, in the eare of a common enemy, thereby making him the Judge, or at least the well pleas'd auditor of thir disagreement, is neither wise nor comely. To the King therfore, were he living, or to his Party yet remaining, as to this action, there belongs no answer. Æmulations, all men know are incident among Military men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But som of the former Army eminent anough for thir own martial deeds, and prevalent in the House of Commons, touch'd with envy to be so farr outdon by a new modell which they contemn'd, took advantage of Presbyterian and Independent names, and the virulence of som Ministers to raise disturbance. And the Warr being then ended, thought slightly to have discarded them, who had faithfully don the work, without thir due pay, and the reward of thir invincible valour. But they who had the Sword yet in thir hands, disdaining to be made the first objects of ingratitude and oppression, after all that expence of thir blood for Justice and the common Liberty, seiz'd upon the King thir pris'ner, whom nothing but their matchless deeds had brought so low as to surrender up his Person: though he, to stirr up new discord, chose rather to give up himself a captive to his own Country men who less had won him. This in likelihood might have grown to som height of mischeif; partly through the strife which was kindling between our elder and our younger Warriors, but chiefly through the seditious tongues of som fals

Miniſters, more zealous againſt Sciſms, then againſt thir own Simony and Pluralities, or watchfull of the common enemy, whoſe ſuttle inſinuations had got ſo farr in among them, as with all diligence to blow the coles. But it pleas'd God not to embroile and put to confuſion his whole people for the perverſneſs of a few. The growth of our diſſention was either prevented or ſoon quieted; the Enemy ſoon deceav'd of his rejoycing, and the King eſpecially diſappointed of not the meaneſt morſel that his hope preſented him, to ruin us by our diviſion. And being now ſo nigh the end, we may the better be at leaſure to ſtay a while, and hear him commenting upon his own Captivity.

He ſaith of his ſurpriſal, that it was a *motion eccentric and irregular*. What then? his own alluſion, from the Celeſtial bodies, puts us in minde, that irregular motions may be neceſſary on earth ſomtimes, as well as conſtantly in Heav'n. That is not always beſt, which is moſt regular to writt'n Law. Great Worthies heertofore by diſobeying Law, ofttimes have ſav'd the Common-wealth: and the Law afterward by firme Decree hath approv'd that planetary motion, that unblamable exorbitancy in them.

Hee meanes no good to either Independent or Preſbyterian, and yet his parable, like that of *Balaam*, is overrul'd to portend them good, farr beſide his intention. *Thoſe twins* that ſtrove *enclos'd in the womb* of *Rebeccah*, were the ſeed of *Abraham;* the younger undoutedly gain'd the heav'nly birth-right; the elder though ſupplanted in his Similie, ſhall yet no queſtion find a better portion then *Eſau* found, and farr above his uncircumcis'd Prelats.

He cenſures, and in cenſuring ſeems to hope, *it will be an ill Omen* that they *who build Jeruſalem divide thir tongues and hands*. But his hope fail'd him with his example; for that there were diviſions both

of tongues and hands at the building of *Jerusalem*, the Story would have certifi'd him; and yet the work prosper'd; and if God will, so may this; notwithstanding all the craft and malignant wiles of *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, adding what fuell they can to our dissentions; or the indignity of his comparison that lik'ns us to those seditious *Zelots* whose *intestine fury* brought destruction to the last *Jerusalem*.

It being now no more in his hand to be reveng'd on his opposers, he seeks to satiat his fansie with the imagination of som revenge upon them from above; and like one who in a drowth observes the Skie, sits and watches when any thing will dropp, that might solace him with the likeness of a punishment from Heav'n upon us: which he strait expounds how he pleases. No evil can befall the Parlament or Citty, but he positively interprets it a judgement upon them for his sake; as if the very manuscript of Gods judgements had bin deliver'd to his custody and exposition. But his reading declares it well to be a fals copy which he uses; dispensing oft'n to his own bad deeds and successes the testimony of Divine favour, and to the good deeds and successes of other men, Divine wrath and vengeance. But to counterfet the hand of God is the boldest of all Forgery: And he, who without warrant but his own fantastic surmise, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the secret and unsearchable Mysteries of high Providence, is likely for the most part to mistake and slander them; and approches to the madness of those reprobat thoughts, that would wrest the Sword of Justice out of Gods own hand, and imploy it more justly in his own conceit. It was a small thing to contend with the Parlament about sole power of the Militia, when we see him doing little less then laying hands on the weapons of God himself, which are his judgments, to weild and manage them by the

ſway and bent of his own fraile cogitations. Therfore *they that by Tumults firſt occaſion'd the raiſing of Armies*, in his doome *muſt* needs *be chaſtn'd by thir own Army for new Tumults*.

Firſt note heer his confeſſion, that thoſe Tumults were the firſt occaſion of raiſing Armies, and by conſequence that hee himſelf rais'd them firſt, againſt thoſe ſuppoſed Tumults. But who occaſion'd thoſe Tumults, or who made them ſo, being at firſt nothing more then the unarmed and peaceable concours of people, hath bin diſcuſt already. And that thoſe pretended Tumults were chaſtiz'd by thir own Army for new Tumults, is not prov'd by a Game at Tic-tack with words; *Tumults and Armies, Armies and Tumults*, but ſeemes more like the method of a Juſtice irrational then Divine.

If the Citty were chaſt'nd by the Army for new Tumults, the reaſon is by himſelf ſet down evident and immediat, *thir new Tumults*. With what ſenſe can it be referrd then to another far-fetchd and imaginary cauſe that happ'nd ſo many years before, and in his ſuppoſition only as a cauſe. *Manlius* defended the Capitol and the Romans from thir enemies the *Gauls: Manlius* for ſedition afterward was by the Romans thrown headlong from the Capitol, therfore *Manlius* was puniſht by Divine Juſtice for defending the Capitol, becauſe in that place puniſhd for ſedition, and by thoſe whom he defended. This is his Logic upon Divine Juſtice; and was the ſame before upon the death of Sir *John Hotham*. And heer again, *Such as were content to ſee him driv'n away by unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forc'd to fly to an Army*. Was this a judgement? was it not a mercy rather, that they had a noble and victorious Army ſo neer at hand to fly to?

From Gods Juſtice he comes down to *Mans Juſtice*. Thoſe few of both Houſes *who at firſt withdrew*

with him from the vain pretence of Tumults, *were counted Deſertors;* therfore thoſe many muſt be alſo Deſertors who withdrew afterwards from real Tumults: as if it were the place that made a Parlament, and not the end and cauſe. Becauſe it is deny'd that thoſe were Tumults from which the King made ſhew of being driv'n, is it therfore of neceſſity impli'd, that there could be never any Tumults for the future? If ſome men fly in craft, may not other men have cauſe to fly in earneſt? But mark the difference between their flight and his; they ſoon return'd in ſafety to thir places, he not till after many yeares, and then a Captive to receive his puniſhment. So that their flying, whether the cauſe be conſider'd or the event, or both, neither juſtifi'd him, nor *condemn'd themſelves.*

But he will needs have *vengeance to purſue and overtake them;* though to bring it in, it coſt him an inconvenient and obnoxious compariſon, *As the Mice and Ratts overtook a German Biſhop.* I would our Mice and Ratts had bin as Orthodoxal heer, and had ſo purſu'd all his Biſhops out of *England;* then vermin had ridd away vermin, which now hath loſt the lives of too many thouſand honeſt men to doe.

He cannot but obſerve this Divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pitty. But ſorrow and pitty in a weake and overmaiſter'd enemy, is lookt upon no otherwiſe then as the aſhes of his revenge burnt out upon it ſelf; or as the damp of a coold fury when we ſay, it gives. But in this manner to ſit ſpelling and obſerving Divine Juſtice upon every accident and ſlight diſturbance that may happ'n humanly to the affaires of men, is but another fragment of his brok'n revenge: and yet the ſhrewdeſt and the cunningeſt obloquie that can be thrown upon thir actions. For if hee can perſwade men that the Parlament and thir cauſe is purſu'd with Divine vengeance, he hath

attain'd his end, to make all men forſake them, and think the worſt that can be thought of them.

Nor is he onely content to ſuborne Divine Juſtice in his cenſure of what is paſt, but he aſſumes the perſon of Chriſt himſelf to prognoſticate over us what he wiſhes would come. So little is any thing or perſon ſacred from him, no not in Heav'n, which he will not uſe, and put on, if it may ſerve him plauſibly, to wreck his ſpleen, or eaſe his mind upon the Parlament. Although if ever *fatal blindneſs* did both *attend and puniſh* wilfulneſs, if ever any *enjoy'd not comforts*, for *neglecting counſel belonging to thir peace*, it was in none more evidently brought to paſs then in himſelf: and his predictions againſt the Parlament and thir adherents have for the moſt part bin verify'd upon his own head, and upon his cheif Counſelors.

He concludes with high praiſes of the Army. But praiſes in an enemy are ſuperfluous, or ſmell of craft; and the Army ſhall not need his praiſes; nor the Parlament fare worſe for his accuſing prayers that follow. Wherin as his Charity can be no way comparable to that of Chriſt, ſo neither can his aſſurance that they whom he ſeems to pray for, in doing what they did againſt him, *knew not what they did.* It was but arrogance therfore and not charity to lay ſuch ignorance to others in the ſight of God, till he himſelf had bin infallible, like him whoſe peculiar words he overweeningly aſſumes.

XXVII. *Intitl'd to the Prince of Wales.*

WHat the King wrote to his Son, as a Father, concerns not us; what he wrote to him, as a King of *England*, concerns not him; God and the Parlament having now otherwiſe

far from conducing t
remedy to the present diste
like to come, that it woul
againe into all our past ar
force us to fight over aga
and put us to another fa
and life, more dubious th
as our success hath bin no
it will be evident to all pos
were the meer consequence

First he argues from *the*
which both he and his Son l
ment of thir *pietie and patien*
witness in his own words, tl
of his youth, which was but
former passages of this ansv
of mean consideration, nor ur
or his Son: himself confessing
are prone either to root up all t
to be contented onely with some
malities of them, without any r
public good: Which presents
words another *Rehoboam*, &c.

tuouſly, how idlely raigning in the hands of other men, he either tyranniz'd or trifl'd away thoſe ſeventeen yeares of peace, without care, or thought, as if to be a King had bin nothing els in his apprehenſion, but to eat and drink, and have his will, and take his pleaſure, though there be who can relate his domeſtic life to the exactneſs of a diary, there ſhall be heer no mention made. This yet we might have then foreſeen, that he who ſpent his leiſure ſo remiſſly and ſo corruptly to his own pleaſing, would one day or other be wors buſied and imployd to our ſorrow. And that he acted in good earneſt what *Rehoboam* did but threat'n, to make his little finger heavier then his Fathers loynes, and to whip us with his two twiſted Scorpions, both temporal and ſpiritual Tyranny, all his Kingdoms have felt. What good uſe he made afterward of his adverſitie, both his impenitence and obſtinacy to the end (for he was no *Manaſſeh*) and the ſequel of theſe his meditated reſolutions, abundantly expreſs; retaining, commending, teaching to his Son all thoſe putrid and pernicious documents both of State and of Religion, inſtill'd by wicked Doctors, and receiv'd by him as in a Veſſel nothing better ſeaſond, which were the firſt occaſion both of his own and all our miſeries. And if he in the beſt maturity of his yeares and underſtanding made no better uſe to himſelf or others of his ſo long and manifold afflictions, either looking up to God, or looking down upon the reaſon of his own affaires, there can be no probability that his Son, bred up, not in the ſoft effeminacies of Court onely, but in the rugged and more boiſtrous licence of undiſciplin'd Camps and Garriſons, for yeares unable to reflect with judgement upon his own condition, and thus ill inſtructed by his Father, ſhould give his mind to walk by any other rules then theſe bequeath'd him as on the death bed of his Father, and as the choiſeſt of all that ex-

perience, which his moſt ſerious obſervation and retirement in good or evil days had taught him. *David* indeed by ſuffering without juſt cauſe, learnt that meekneſs and that wiſdom by adverſity, which made him much the fitter man to raigne. But they who ſuffer as oppreſſors, Tyrants, violaters of Law, and perſecutors of Reformation, without appearance of repenting, if they once get hold againe of that dignity and power which they had loſt, are but whetted and inrag'd by what they ſuffer'd, againſt thoſe whom they look upon as them that caus'd thir ſuffrings.

How he hath bin *ſubject to the ſcepter of Gods word and ſpirit*, though acknowledg'd to be the *beſt Goverment*, and what his *diſpenſation of civil power* hath bin, with what *Juſtice*, and what *honour to the public peace*, it is but looking back upon the whole catalogue of his deeds, and that will be ſufficient to remember us. *The Cup of Gods phyſic*, as he calls it, what alteration it wrought in him to a firm *healthfulneſs* from any ſurfet, or exceſs wherof the people generally thought him ſick, if any man would goe about to prove, wee have his own teſtimony following heer, that it wrought none at all.

Firſt, he hath the ſame fix'd opinion and eſteem of his old *Epheſian* Goddeſs, call'd the *Church of England*, as he had ever; and charges ſtrictly his Son after him to perſevere in that Anti-Papal Sciſme (for it is not much better) as that *which will be neceſſary both for his ſoules, and the Kingdoms Peace.* But if this can be any foundation of the Kingdoms peace, which was the firſt cauſe of our diſtractions, let common ſenſe be Judge. It is a rule and principle worthy to be known by Chriſtians, that no Scripture, no nor ſo much as any ancient Creed, bindes our Faith, or our obedience to any Church whatſoever, denominated by a particular name; farr leſs, if it be diſtinguiſht by a ſeveral Goverment from

that which is indeed Catholic. No man was ever bidd be ſubject to the Church of *Corinth*, *Rome*, or *Aſia*, but to the Church without addition, as it held faithfull to the rules of Scripture, and the Goverment eſtabliſht in all places by the Apoſtles; which at firſt was univerſally the ſame in all Churches and Congregations; not differing or diſtinguiſht by the diverſity of Countries, Territories, or civil bounds. That Church that from the name of a diſtinct place takes autority to ſet up a diſtinct Faith or Goverment, is a Sciſm and Faction, not a Church. It were an injury to condemn the Papiſt of abſurdity and contradiction, for adhering to his Catholic Romiſh Religion, if we, for the pleaſure of a King and his politic conſiderations, ſhall adhere to a Catholic Engliſh.

But ſuppoſe the Church of *England* were as it ought to be, how is it to us the ſafer by being ſo nam'd and eſtabliſht, when as that very name and eſtabliſhment, by his contriving, or approbation, ſerv'd for nothing els but to delude us and amuſe us, while the Church of *England* was almoſt chang'd into the Church of *Rome*. Which as every Man knows in general to be true, ſo the particular Treaties and Tranſactions tending to that concluſion, are at large diſcover'd in a Book intitl'd the *Engliſh Pope*. But when the people, diſcerning theſe abuſes, began to call for Reformation, in order to which the Parlament demanded of the King to uneſtabliſh that Prelatical Goverment, which without Scripture had uſurpt over us, ſtrait, as *Pharaoh* accus'd of Idleneſs the *Iſraelites* that ſought leave to goe and ſacrifice to God, he layes faction to thir charge. And that we may not hope to have ever any thing reform'd in the Church either by him or his Son, hee forewarnes him, *That the Devil of Rebellion doth moſt commonly turn him ſelfe into an Angel of Reformation:* and ſayes anough to make him hate it, as the worſt of Evils,

and the bane of his Crown: nay he counſels him to *let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to him, ſo as not ſpeedily and effectually to ſuppreſs errors and Sciſms.* Wherby we may perceave plainly that our conſciences were deſtin'd to the ſame ſervitude and perſecution, if not wors then before, whether under him, or if it ſhould ſo happ'n, under his Son; who count all Proteſtant Churches erroneous and ſciſmatical, which are not Epiſcopal. His next precept is concerning our civil Liberties; which by his ſole voice and predominant will muſt be circumſcrib'd, and not permitted to extend a hands bredth furder then his interpretation of *the Laws already ſettl'd.* And although all human Laws are but the offspring of that frailty, that fallibility, and imperfection which was in thir Authors, whereby many Laws, in the change of ignorant and obſcure Ages, may be found both ſcandalous, and full of greevance to their Poſterity that made them, and no Law is furder good, then mutable upon juſt occaſion, yet if the removing of an old Law, or the making of a new would ſave the Kingdom, we ſhall not have it unleſs his arbitrary voice will ſo farr ſlack'n the ſtiff curb of his Prerogative, as to grant it us; who are as free born to make our own Laws, as our Fathers were who made theſe wee have. Where are then the Engliſh Liberties which we boaſt to have bin left us by our Progenitors? To that he anſwers, that *Our Liberties conſiſt in the enjoyment of the fruits of our induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Laws to which wee our ſelves have conſented.* Firſt, for the enjoyment of thoſe fruits, which our induſtry and labours have made our own upon our own, what privilege is that, above what the *Turks*, *Jewes*, and *Mores* enjoy under the Turkiſh Monarchy? For without that kind of Juſtice, which is alſo in *Argiers*, among Theeves and Pirats between themſelves, no kind of Goverment, no Societie, juſt

or unjuſt could ſtand; no combination or conſpiracy could ſtick together. Which he alſo acknowledges in theſe words: *That if the Crown upon his head be ſo heavy as to oppreſs the whole body, the weakneſs of inferiour members cannot return any thing of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety to the head; but that a neceſſary debilitation* muſt follow. So that this Liberty of the Subject concerns himſelf and the ſubſiſtence of his own regal power in the firſt place, and before the conſideration of any right belonging to the Subject. We expect therfore ſomthing more, that muſt diſtinguiſh free Goverment from ſlaviſh. But in ſtead of that, this King, though ever talking and proteſting as ſmooth as now, ſufferd it in his own hearing to be Preacht and pleaded without controule, or check, by them whom he moſt favour'd and upheld, that the Subject had no property of his own Goods, but that all was the Kings right.

Next for the *benefit of thoſe Laws to which we our ſelves have conſented*, we never had it under him; for not to ſpeak of Laws ill executed, when the Parlament, and in them the People have conſented to divers Laws, and, according to our ancient Rights, demanded them, hee took upon him to have a negative will, as the tranſcendent and ultimat Law above all our Laws; and to rule us forcibly by Laws to which we our ſelves did not conſent, but complain'd of. Thus theſe two heads wherein the utmoſt of his allowance heer will give our Liberties leave to conſiſt, the one of them ſhall be ſo farr onely made good to us, as may ſupport his own intereſt, and Crown, from *ruin* or *debilitation*; and ſo farr Turkiſh Vaſſals enjoy as much liberty under *Mahomet* and the Grand Signor: the other we neither yet have enjoyd under him, nor were ever like to doe under the Tyranny of a negative voice, which he claimes above the unanimous conſent

and power of a whole Nation virtually in the Parlament.

In which negative voice to have bin caſt by the doom of Warr, and put to death by thoſe who vanquiſht him in thir own defence, hee reck'ns to himſelf more then a negative *Martyrdom*. But Martyrs bear witneſs to the truth, not to themſelves. If I beare witneſs of my ſelf, ſaith *Chriſt*, my witneſs is not true. Hee who writes himſelf *Martyr* by his own inſcription, is like an ill Painter, who, by writing on the ſhapeleſs Picture which he hath drawn, is fain to tel paſſengers what ſhape it is; which els no man could imagin: no more then how a Martyrdom can belong to him, who therfore dyes for his Religion becauſe it is *eſtabliſht*. Certainly if *Agrippa* had turn'd Chriſtian, as hee was once turning, and had put to death Scribes and Phariſees for obſerving the Law of *Moſes*, and refuſing Chriſtianitie, they had di'd a truer Martyrdom. For thoſe Laws were eſtabliſht by God and *Moſes*, theſe by no warrantable authors of religion, whoſe Laws in al other beſt reformed Churches are rejected. And if to die for an eſtabliſhment of Religion be Martyrdom, then Romiſh Prieſts executed for that, which had ſo many hundred yeares bin eſtabliſht in this Land, are no wors Martyrs then he. Laſtly, if to die for *the teſtimony of his own conſcience*, be anough to make him Martyr, what Heretic dying for direct blaſphemie, as ſom have don conſtantly, may not boaſt a martyrdom? As for the conſtitution or repeale of civil Laws, that power lying onely in the Parlament, which he by the very Law of his Coronation was to grant them, not to debarr them, nor to preſerve a leſſer Law with the contempt and violation of a greater, it will conclude him not ſo much as in a civil and metaphoricall ſenſe to have di'd a Martyr of our Laws, but a plaine tranſgreſſor of them. And

ſhould the Parlament, endu'd with Legiſlative power, make our Laws, and be after to diſpute them peicemeale with the reaſon, conſcience, humour, paſſion, fanſie, folly, obſtinacy, or other ends of one man, whoſe ſole word and will ſhall baffle and unmake what all the wiſdom of a Parlament hath bin deliberatly framing, what a ridiculous and contemptible thing a Parlament would ſoon be, and what a baſe unworthy Nation we, who boaſt our freedom, and ſend them with the manifeſt peril of thir lives to preſerve it, they who are not mark'd by deſtiny for Slaves, may apprehend. In this ſervile condition to have kept us ſtill under hatches, he both reſolves heer to the laſt, and ſo inſtructs his Son.

As to thoſe offerd condeſcenſions of *Charitable connivence, or toleration*, if we conſider what went before, and what follows, they moulder into nothing. For what with not ſuffering *ever ſo little* to *ſeem a deſpicable* ſciſm, without effectual ſuppreſſion, as he warn'd him before, and what with *no oppoſition of Law, Government, or eſtabliſht Religion* to be permitted, which is his following proviſo, and wholly within his own conſtruction, what a miſerable and ſuſpected toleration, under Spies and haunting Promooters we ſhould enjoy, is apparent. Beſides that it is ſo farr beneath the honour of a Parlament and free Nation, to begg and ſupplicate the Godſhip of one fraile Man, for the bare and ſimple toleration of what they all conſent to be both juſt, pious, and beſt pleaſing to God, while that which is erroneous, unjuſt, and miſcheivous in the Church or State, ſhall by him alone againſt them all, be kept up and eſtabliſht; and they cenſur'd the while for a *covetous, ambitious, and ſacrilegious Faction*.

Another baite to allure the people, is the charge he laies upon his Son, to be tender of them. Which if we ſhould beleeve in part, becauſe they are his

Heard, his Cattell, the Stock upon his ground, as he accounts them, whom to waſt and deſtroy would undoe himſelf, yet the inducement which he brings to move him, renders the motion it felf ſomthing ſuſpicious. For if Princes *need no palliations*, as he tells his Son, wherfore is it that he himſelf hath ſo oft'n us'd them? Princes, of all other men, have not more change of Rayment in thir Wardrobes, then variety of Shifts and *palliations* in thir ſolemn actings and pretences to the People.

To try next if he can inſnare the prime Men of thoſe who have oppos'd him, whom, more truly then his meaning was, he calls the *Patrons and vindicators of the People*, hee gives out *Indemnity*, and offers *Acts of Oblivion*. But they who with a good conſcience and upright heart, did thir civil duties in the ſight of God, and in thir ſeveral places, to reſiſt Tyranny, and the violence of Superſtition banded both againſt them, he may be ſure will never ſeek to be forgiv'n that, which may be juſtly attributed to thir immortal praiſe; nor will aſſent ever to the guilty blotting out of thoſe actions before men, by which thir Faith aſſures them they chiefly ſtand approv'd, and are had in remembrance before the throne of God.

Hee exhorts his Son *not to ſtudy revenge*. But how farr he, or at leaſt they about him, intend to follow that exhortation, was ſeen lately at the *Hague;* and by what attempts were likewiſe made in other places. How implacable they would be, it will be wiſdom and our ſafety to beleeve rather, and prevent, then to make tryall. And it will concerne the multitude, though courted heer, to take heed how they ſeek to hide or colour thir own ficklenefs and inſtability with a bad repentance of thir well-doing, and thir fidelity to the better cauſe; to which at firſt ſo cherfully and conſcientiouſly they joyn'd themſelves.

He returnes againe to extoll *the Church of England*, and againe requires his Son by the joynt autority of *a Father and a King, not to let his heart receive the leaſt check, or diſaffection againſt it.* And not without cauſe, for by that meanes having ſole influence upon the Clergy, and they upon the people, *after long ſearch and many diſputes*, he could not poſſibly find a more compendious and politic way to uphold and ſettle Tyranny, then by ſubduing firſt the Conſciences of Vulgar men, with the inſenſible poyſon of their ſlaviſh Doctrin: for then the bodie and beſotted mind without much Reluctancy was likelieſt to admitt the Yoke.

He commends alſo *Parlaments held with freedome and* with *Honour*. But I would aſk how that can bee, while he onely muſt be the ſole free Perſon in that number; and would have the power with his unaccountable denyall, to diſhonour them by rejecting all thir Counſels, to confine thir Law-giving power, which is the Foundation of our freedom, and to change at his pleaſure the very name of a Parlament into the name of a Faction.

The concluſion therfore muſt needs be quite contrary to what he concludes; that nothing can be more *unhappy*, more diſhonourable, more unſafe *for all*, then when a wiſe, *grave, and honourable Parlament* ſhall have labourd, debated, argu'd, conſulted, and, as he himſelfe ſpeaks, *contributed* for the public good *all their Counſels in common*, to be then fruſtrated, diſapointed, deny'd and repuls'd by the ſingle whiffe of a negative, from the mouth of one willfull man; nay to be blaſted, to be ſtruck as mute and motionleſs as a Parlament of Tapſtrie in the Hangings; or els after all thir paines and travell to be diſſolv'd, and caſt away like ſo many Naughts in Arithmetick, unleſs it be to turne the O of thir inſignificance into a lamentation with the people, who

had ſo vainly ſent them. For this is not *to enact all things by public conſent*, as he would have us be perſwaded, this is to enact nothing but by the privat conſent and leave of one not negative tyrant; this is miſcheif without remedy, a ſtifling and obſtructing evil that hath no vent, no outlet, no paſſage through: Grant him this, and the Parlament hath no more freedom then if it ſate in his Nooſe, which when he pleaſes to draw together with one twitch of his Negative, ſhall throttle a whole Nation, to the wiſh of *Caligula* in one neck. This with the power of Militia in his own hands over our bodies and eſtates, and the Prelats to enthrall our conſciences either by fraud or force, is the ſumm of that happineſs and liberty we were to look for, whether in his own reſtitution, or in theſe precepts giv'n to his Son. Which unavoidably would have ſet us in the ſame ſtate of miſery, wherin we were before: and have either compell'd us to ſubmitt like bond-ſlaves, or put us back to a ſecond wandring over that horrid Wilderneſs of diſtraction and civil ſlaughter, which, not without the ſtrong and miraculous hand of God aſſiſting us, we have meaſur'd out; and ſurviv'd. And who knows, if we make ſo ſlight of this incomparable deliverance, which God hath beſtow'd upon us, but that wee ſhall like thoſe fooliſh *Iſraelites*, who depos'd God and *Samuel* to ſet up a King, *Cry out* one day *becauſe of our King*, which we have bin mad upon; and then God, as he foretold them, will no more deliver us.

There remaines now but little more of his diſcours, wherof yet to take a ſhort view will not be amiſs. His words make ſemblance as if hee were magnanimouſly exerciſing himſelf, and ſo teaching his Son, *To want as well as to weare a Crown;* and would ſeem to account it *not worth taking up or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious termes;*

and yet to his very laſt did nothing more induſtrioufly then ſtrive to take up and enjoy againe his ſequeſterd Crown, upon the moſt ſordid, diſloyal, diſhonourable, and irreligious termes, not of making peace onely, but of joyning and incorporating with the murdrous Iriſh, formerly by himſelf declar'd againſt, for *wicked and deteſtable Rebells, odious to God and all good Men.* And who but thoſe Rebells now, are the chief ſtrength and confidence of his Son; while the Preſbyter Scot that wooes and ſollicits him, is neglected and put off, as if no termes were to him ſordid, irreligious and diſhonourable, but the Scottiſh and Preſbyterian.

He bids his Son *Keep to the true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, and he ſhall never want a Kingdom.* And I ſay, People of *England,* keep ye to thoſe principles, and ye ſhall never want a King. Nay after ſuch a faire deliverance as this, with ſo much fortitude and valour ſhown againſt a Tyrant, that people that ſhould ſeek a King, claiming what this Man claimes, would ſhew themſelves to be by nature ſlaves, and arrant beaſts; not fitt for that liberty which they cri'd out and bellow'd for, but fitter to be led back again into thir old bondage, like a ſort of clamouring and fighting brutes, broke loos, that know not how to uſe or poſſeſs the liberty which they fought for.

The laſt ſentence, wheron he ſeemes to venture the whole waight of all his former reaſons and argumentations, *That Religion to thir God, and loyalty to thir King cannot be parted, without the ſin and infelicity of a People,* is contrary to the plaine teaching of Chriſt, that *No man can ſerve two Maiſters,* but, if he hold to the one, he muſt reject and forſake the other. If God then, and earthly Kings be for the moſt part not ſeveral onely but oppoſite Maiſters, it will as oft happ'n, that they who will ſerve thir King

muſt forſake thir God; and they who will ſerve God, muſt forſake thir King; which then will neither be thir ſin, nor thir infelicity; but thir wiſdom, thir piety, and thir true happineſs: as to be deluded by theſe unſound and ſuttle oſtentations heer, would be thir miſery.

XXVIII. *Intitl'd Meditations upon Death.*

IT might be well thought by him who Reads no furder then the Title of this laſt Eſſay, that it requir'd no Anſwer. For all other human things are diſputed, and will be variouſly thought of to the Worlds end. But this buſineſs of Death is a plaine caſe, and admitts no controverſie: In that center all Opinions meet. Nevertheleſs, ſince out of thoſe few mortifying howers that ſhould have bin intireſt to themſelves, and moſt at peace from all paſſion, and diſquiet, he can afford ſpare time to inveigh bitterly againſt that Juſtice which was don upon him, it will be needfull to ſay ſomething in defence of thoſe proceedings; though breifly, in regard ſo much on this Subject hath been Writt'n lately.

It happn'd once, as we find in *Eſdras*, and *Joſephus*, Authors not leſs beleiv'd then any under ſacred, to be a great and ſolemn debate in the Court of *Darius*, what thing was to be counted ſtrongeſt of all other. He that could reſolve this, in reward of his excelling wiſdom, ſhould be clad in Purple, drink in Gold, ſleep on a Bed of Gold, and ſitt next to *Darius*. None but they doubtleſs who were reputed wiſe, had the Queſtion propounded to them. Who after ſom reſpit giv'n them by the King to conſider, in ful Aſſembly of all his Lords and graveſt Counſellors, returnd ſeverally what they thought. The firſt

held that Wine was ſtrongeſt; another that the King was ſtrongeſt. But *Zorobabel* Prince of the Captive Jewes, and Heire to the Crown of Judah, beeing one of them, proov'd Women to be ſtronger then the King, for that he himſelf had ſeen a Concubin take his Crown from off his head to ſet it upon her own: And others beſides him have lately ſeen the like Feat don, and not in jeſt. Yet he proov'd on, and it was ſo yeilded by the King himſelf, and all his ſages, that neither Wine nor Women, nor the King, but Truth, of all other things was the ſtrongeſt. For me, though neither aſk'd, nor in a Nation that gives ſuch rewards to wiſdom, I ſhall pronounce my ſentence ſomwhat different from *Zorobabel;* and ſhall defend, that either Truth and Juſtice are all one, for Truth is but Juſtice in our knowledge, and Juſtice is but Truth in our practice, and he indeed ſo explaines himſelf in ſaying that with Truth is no accepting of Perſons, which is the property of Juſtice; or els, if there be any odds, that Juſtice, though not ſtronger then Truth, yet by her office is to put forth and exhibit more ſtrength in the affaires of mankind. For Truth is properly no more then Contemplation; and her utmoſt efficiency is but teaching: but Juſtice in her very eſſence is all ſtrength and activity; and hath a Sword put into her hand, to uſe againſt all violence and oppreſſion on the earth. Shee it is moſt truly, who accepts no Perſon, and exempts none from the ſeverity of her ſtroke. Shee never ſuffers injury to prevaile, but when falſhood firſt prevailes over Truth; and that alſo is a kind of Juſtice don on them who are ſo deluded. Though wicked Kings and Tyrants counterfet her Sword, as ſom did that Buckler, fabl'd to fall from Heav'n into the Capitol, yet ſhee communicates her power to none but ſuch as like her ſelf are juſt, or at leaſt will doe Juſtice. For it were extreme partialitie and injuſtice, the flat denyall and

overthrow of her ſelf, to put her own authentic Sword into the hand of an unjuſt and wicked Man, or ſo farr to accept and exalt one mortal Perſon above his equals, that he alone ſhall have the puniſhing of all other men tranſgreſſing, and not receive like puniſhment from men, when he himſelf ſhall be found the higheſt tranſgreſſor.

We may conclude therfore that Juſtice, above all other things, is and ought to be the ſtrongeſt: Shee is the ſtrength, the Kingdom, the power and majeſtie of all Ages. Truth her ſelfe would ſubſcribe to this, though *Darius* and all the Monarchs of the World ſhould deny. And if by ſentence thus writt'n it were my happineſs to ſet free the minds of Engliſh men from longing to return poorly under that Captivity of Kings, from which the ſtrength and ſupreme Sword of Juſtice hath deliver'd them, I ſhall have don a work not much inferior to that of *Zorobabel:* who by well praiſing and extolling the force of Truth, in that contemplative ſtrength conquer'd *Darius;* and freed his Countrey, and the people of God from the Captivity of *Babylon*. Which I ſhall yet not deſpaire to doe, if they in this Land whoſe minds are yet Captive, be but as ingenuous to acknowledge the ſtrength and ſupremacie of Juſtice, as that Heathen King was, to confeſs the ſtrength of Truth: or let them but as he did, grant that, and they will ſoon perceave that Truth reſignes all her outward ſtrength to Juſtice: Juſtice therfore muſt needs be ſtrongeſt, both in her own and in the ſtrength of Truth. But if a King may doe among men whatſoever is his will and pleaſure, and notwithſtanding be unaccountable to men, then contrary to this magnifi'd wiſdom of *Zorobabel*, neither Truth nor Juſtice, but the King is ſtrongeſt of all other things: which that Perſian Monarch himſelf in the midſt of all his pride and glory durſt not aſſume.

Let us ſee therfore what this King hath to affirm, why the ſentence of Juſtice and the weight of that Sword which ſhee delivers into the hands of men, ſhould be more partial to him offending, then to all others of human race. Firſt he pleads that *No Law of God or man gives to ſubjects any power of judicature without or againſt him.* Which aſſertion ſhall be prov'd in every part to be moſt untrue. The firſt expreſs Law of God giv'n to mankind, was that to *Noah*, as a Law in generall to all the ſons of men. And by that moſt ancient and univerſal Law, *Whoſoever ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed*, we find heer no exception. If a King therefore doe this, to a King, and that by men alſo, the ſame ſhall be don. This in the Law of *Moſes*, which came next, ſeveral times is repeated, and in one place remarkably, *Numb.* 35. *Ye ſhall take no ſatisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he ſhall ſurely be put to death: the Land cannot be cleanſed of the blood that is ſhedd therein*, but by the blood of him that ſhedd it. This is ſo ſpok'n, as that which concern'd all *Iſrael*, not one man alone to ſee perform'd; and if no ſatisfaction were to be tak'n, then certainly no exception. Nay the King, when they ſhould ſet up any, was to obſerve the whole Law, and not onely to ſee it don, but to *doe it; that his heart might not be lifted up above his Brethren*, to dreame of vain and reaſonleſs prerogatives or exemptions, wherby the Law it ſelf muſt needs be founded in unrighteouſneſs.

And were that true, which is moſt fals, that all Kings are the Lords Anointed, it were yet abſurd to think that the Anointment of God, ſhould be as it were a charme againſt Law; and give them privilege who puniſh others, to ſin themſelves unpuniſhably. The high Preiſt was the Lords anointed as well as any King, and with the ſame conſecrated oile: yet *Salomon* had put to death *Abiathar*, had it

not bin for other respects then that anointment. If God himself say to Kings, *Touch not mine anointed*, meaning his chos'n people, as is evident in that Psalme, yet no man will argue thence, that he protects them from Civil Lawes if they offend, then certainly, though David as a privat man, and in his own cause, feard to lift his hand against the Lords Anointed, much less can this forbidd the Law, or disarm justice from having legall power against any King. No other supreme Magistrate in what kind of Goverment soever laies claim to any such enormous Privilege; wherfore then should any King who is but one kind of Magistrat, and set over the People for no other end then they?

Next in order of time to the Laws of *Moses*, are those of Christ, who declares professedly his judicature to be spiritual, abstract from civil managements, and therfore leaves all Nations to thir own particular Lawes, and way of Goverment. Yet because the Church hath a kind of Jurisdiction within her own bounds, and that also, though in process of time much corrupted and plainly turn'd into a corporal judicature, yet much approov'd by this King, it will be firm anough and valid against him, if subjects, by the Laws of Church also, be *invested with a power of judicature* both without and against thir King, though pretending, and by them acknowledg'd *next and immediatly under Christ supreme head and Governour*. *Theodosius* the Emperour having made a slaughter of the *Thessalonians* for sedition, but too cruelly, was excommunicated to his face by Saint *Ambrose*, who was his subject: and excommunion is the utmost of Ecclesiastical Judicature, a spiritual putting to death. But this, yee will say, was onely an example. Reade then the Story; and it will appeare, both that *Ambrose* avouch'd it for the Law of God, and *Theodosius* confest it of his own accord to

be ſo; *and that the Law of God was not to be made voyd in him, for any reverence to his Imperial power.* From hence, not to be tedious, I ſhall paſs into our own Land of *Brittain;* and ſhow that Subjects heer have exercis'd the utmoſt of ſpiritual Judicature and more then ſpiritual againſt thir Kings, his Predeceſſours. *Vortiger* for committing inceſt with his Daughter, was by Saint *German*, at that time his Subject, curs'd and condemn'd in a Brittiſh Councel about the yeare 448; and therupon ſoon after was depos'd. *Mauricus* a King in *Wales*, for breach of Oath, and the murder of *Cynetus* was excommunicated, and curſt with all his offspring, by *Oudoceus* Biſhop of *Landaff* in full Synod, about the yeare 560; and not reſtor'd, till he had repented. *Morcant* another King in *Wales* having ſlain *Frioc* his Unkle, was faine to come in Perſon and receave judgement from the ſame Biſhop and his Clergie; who upon his penitence acquitted him, for no other cauſe then leſt the Kingdom ſhould be deſtitute of a Succeſſour in the Royal Line. Theſe examples are of the Primitive, Brittiſh, and Epiſcopal Church; long ere they had any commerce or communion with the Church of *Rome*. What power afterward of depoſing Kings, and ſo conſequently of putting them to death, was aſſum'd and practis'd by the Canon Law, I omitt as a thing generally known. Certainly if whole Councels of the Romiſh Church have in the midſt of their dimneſs diſcernd ſo much of Truth, as to Decree at *Conſtance*, and at *Baſil*, and many of them to avouch at *Trent* alſo, that a Councel is above the Pope, and may judge him, though by them not deni'd to be the Vicar of Chriſt, we in our clearer light may be aſham'd not to diſcern furder, that a Parlament is, by all equity, and right, above a King, and may judge him, whoſe reaſons and pretenſions to hold of God onely, as his imme-

diat Vicegerent, we know how farr fetch'd they are, and insufficient.

As for the Laws of man, it would ask a Volume to repeat all that might be cited in this point against him from all Antiquity. In Greece, *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, and by succession King of *Argos*, was in that Countrey judg'd and condemn'd to death for killing his Mother: whence escaping, he was judg'd againe, though a Stranger, before the great Counsel of *Areopagus* in *Athens*. And this memorable act of Judicature, was the first that brought the Justice of that grave Senat into fame and high estimation over all *Greece* for many ages after. And in the same Citty Tyrants were to undergoe Legall sentence by the Laws of *Solon*. The Kings of *Sparta*, though descended lineally from *Hercules* esteem'd a God among them, were oft'n judg'd and somtimes put to death by the most just and renowned Laws of *Lycurgus*; who, though a King, thought it most unequal to bind his Subjects by any Law, to which he bound not himself. In *Rome* the Laws made by *Valerius Publicola*, and what the Senate decreed against *Nero*, that hee should be judg'd and punish'd according to the Laws of thir Ancestors, and what in like manner was decreed against other Emperours, is vulgarly known. And that the Civil Law warrants like power of Judicature to Subjects against Tyrants, is writt'n clearly by the best and famousest Civilians. For if it was decreed by *Theodosius*, and stands yet firme in the Code of *Justinian*, that the Law is above the Emperour, then certainly the Emperour being under Law, the Law may judge him, and if judge him, may punish him proving tyrannous: how els is the Law above him, or to what purpose. These are necessary deductions; and therafter hath bin don in all Ages and Kingdoms, oftner then to be heer recited.

But what need we any furder ſearch after the Laws of other Lands, for that which is ſo fully and ſo plainly ſet down lawfull in our owne. Where ancient Books tell us, *Bracton*, *Fleta*, and others, that the King is under Law, and inferiour to his Court of Parlament; that although his place *to doe Juſtice* be higheſt, yet that he ſtands as liable *to receave Juſtice*, as the meaneſt of his Kingdom. Nay *Alfred* the moſt worthy King, and by ſom accounted firſt abſolute Monarch of the Saxons heer, ſo ordain'd; as is cited out of an ancient Law Book call'd the *Mirror;* in *Rights of the Kingdom*, *p.* 31. where it is complain'd on, *As the ſovran abuſe of all*, that *the King ſhould be deem'd above the Law, whereas he ought be ſubject to it by his Oath:* Of which Oath anciently it was the laſt clauſe, that the King *ſhould be as liable, and obedient to ſuffer right, as others of his people.* And indeed it were but fond and ſenſleſs, that the King ſhould be accountable to every petty ſuit in leſſer Courts, as we all know he was, and not be ſubject to the Judicature of Parlament in the main matters of our common ſafety or deſtruction; that hee ſhould be anſwerable in the ordinary cours of Law for any wrong don to a privat Perſon, and not anſwerable in Court of Parlament for deſtroying the whole Kingdom. By all this, and much more that might be added as in an argument overcopious rather then barren, we ſee it manifeſt that all Laws both of God and Man are made without exemption of any perſon whomſoever; and that if Kings preſume to overtopp the Law by which they raigne for the public good, they are by Law to be reduc'd into order: and that can no way be more juſtly, then by thoſe who exalted them to that high place. For who ſhould better underſtand thir own Laws, and when they are tranſgreſt, then they who are govern'd by them, and whoſe conſent firſt made them:

and will not have more right to take knowledge of things for within a free Nation then they within themselves.

Thus undeniable Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy we swore, not to his Person, but as it was invested with his Authority: and his authority was by the People first given him conditionally, in Law and under Law and under Oath also for the Kingdoms good, and not otherwise: the Oathes then were interchang'd and mutual: front and fell together; he swore fealty to his trust: not as a deluding ceremony, but as a real condition of their admitting him for King: and the Conqueror himself swore it after them at his Crowning: they swore Homage, and Fealty to his Person in that trust. There was no reason why the Kingdom should be further bound by Oaths to him, then he by his Coronation Oath to us, which he hath every way brok'n: and having brok'n, the ancient Crown-Oath of *Alfred* above mention'd, conceales not his penalty.

As for the Covenant, if that be meant, certainly no discreet Person can imagin it should bind us to him in any stricter sense then those Oaths formerly. The acts of Hostility which we receiv'd from him, were no such dear obligements that we should ow him more fealty and defence for being our Enemy, then we could before when we took him onely for a King. They were accus'd by him and his Party to pretend Liberty and Reformation, but to have no other end then to make themselves great, and to destroy the Kings Person and Autority. For which reason they added that third Article, testifying to the World, that as they were resolv'd to endeavor first a Reformation in the Church, to extirpate Prelacy, to preserve the Rights of Parlament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, so they intended, so farr as it might consist with the preservation and defence of these, to

preſerve the Kings Perſon and Autority; but not otherwiſe. As farr as this comes to, they Covnant and Swear in the ſixth Article to preſerve and defend the perſons and autority of one another, and all thoſe that enter into that League; ſo that this Covnant gives no unlimitable exemption to the Kings Perſon, but gives to all as much defence and preſervation as to him, and to him as much as to thir own Perſons, and no more; that is to ſay, in order and ſubordination to thoſe maine ends for which we live and are a Nation of men joynd in ſociety either Chriſtian or at leaſt human. But if the Covnant were made abſolute, to preſerve and defend any one whomſoever, without reſpect had, either to the true Religion, or thoſe other Superiour things to be defended and preſerv'd however, it cannot then be doubted, but that the Covnant was rather a moſt fooliſh, haſty, and unlawfull Vow, then a deliberate and well-waighd Covnant; ſwearing us into labyrinths, and repugnances, no way to be ſolv'd or reconcil'd, and therfore no way to be kept: as firſt offending againſt the Law of God, to Vow the abſolute preſervation, defence, and maintaining of one Man though in his ſins and offences never ſo great and hainous againſt God or his Neighbour; and to except a Perſon from Juſtice, wheras his Law excepts none. Secondly, it offends againſt the Law of this Nation, wherein, as hath bin prov'd, Kings in receiving Juſtice, and undergoing due tryall, are not differenc'd from the meaneſt Subject. Laſtly, it contradicts and offends againſt the Covnant it ſelf, which vows in the fourth Article to bring to op'n triall and condigne puniſhment all thoſe that ſhall be found guilty of ſuch crimes and Delinquencies, wherof the King by his own Letters and other undenyable teſtimonies not brought to light till afterward, was found and convicted to be the cheif actor in what they thought

him at the time of taking that Covnant, to be overrul'd only by evil Counſelers; and thoſe, or whomſoever they ſhould diſcover to be principall, they vow'd to try, *either by thir own ſupreme Judicatories*, for ſo eev'n then they call'd them, *or by others having power from them to that effect*. So that to have brought the King to condign puniſhment hath not broke the Covnant, but it would have broke the Covnant to have ſav'd him from thoſe Judicatories, which both Nations declar'd in that Covnant to be *Supreme* againſt any perſon whatſoever. And if the Covnant ſwore otherwiſe to preſerve him then in the preſervation of true Religion and our Liberties, againſt which he fought, if not in Armes, yet in Reſolution to his dying day, and now after death ſtill fights againſt, in this his Book, the Covnant was better brok'n, then he ſav'd. And God hath teſtifi'd by all propitious and evident ſignes, whereby in theſe latter times he is wont to teſtifie what pleaſes him; that ſuch a ſolemn, and for many Ages unexampl'd act of due puniſhment, was no *mockery of Juſtice*, but a moſt gratefull and well-pleaſing Sacrifice. Neither was it *to cover thir perjury* as he accuſes, but to uncover his perjury to the Oath of his Coronation.

The reſt of his diſcours quite forgets the Title; and turns his Meditations upon death into obloquie and bitter vehemence againſt his *Judges and Accuſers;* imitating therin, not our Saviour, but his Grand-mother *Mary* Queen of Scots, as alſo in the moſt of his other ſcruples, exceptions and evaſions: and from whom he ſeems to have learnt as it were by heart, or els by kind, that which is thought by his admirers to be the moſt vertuous, moſt manly, moſt Chriſtian, and moſt Martyr-like both of his words and ſpeeches heer, and of his anſwers and behaviour at his Tryall.

It is a ſad fate, he ſaith, *to have his Enemies both Accuſers, Parties, and Judges.* Sad indeed, but not ſufficient Plea to acquitt him from being ſo judg'd. For what Malefactor might not ſomtimes plead the like? If his own crimes have made all men his Enemies, who els can judge him? They of the Powder-plot againſt his Father might as well have pleaded the ſame. Nay at the Reſurrection it may as well be pleaded, that the Saints who then ſhall judge the World, are *both Enemies, Judges, Parties and Accuſers.*

So much he thinks to abound in his own defence, that he undertakes an unmeaſurable taſk; to beſpeak *the ſingular care and protection of God over all Kings*, as *being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth.* But what Patrons they be, God in the Scripture oft anough hath expreſt; and the earth it ſelf hath too long groan'd under the burd'n of thir injuſtice, diſorder, and irreligion. Therfore *To bind thir Kings in chaines, and thir Nobles with links of Iron*, is an honour belonging to his Saints; not to build *Babel*, which was *Nimrods* work, the firſt King, *and the beginning of his Kingdom was Babel*, but to deſtroy it, eſpecially that ſpiritual *Babel:* and firſt to overcome thoſe European Kings, which receive thir power; not from God, but from the beaſt; and are counted no better then his ten hornes. *Theſe ſhall hate the great Whore*, and yet *ſhall give thir Kingdoms to the Beaſt that carries her; they ſhall committ Fornication with her*, and yet *ſhall burn her with fire*, and yet *ſhall lament the fall of Babylon*, where they fornicated with her.

Thus ſhall they be too and fro, doubtfull and ambiguous in all thir doings, untill at laſt, *joyning thir Armies with the Beaſt*, whoſe power firſt rais'd them, they ſhall periſh with him by the *King of*

Kings againſt whom they have rebell'd; and *the Foules ſhall eat thir fleſh.* This is thir doom writt'n, and the utmoſt that wee find concerning them in theſe latter days; which we have much more cauſe to beleeve, then his unwarranted Revelation heer, prophecying what ſhall follow after his death, with the ſpirit of Enmity, not of Saint *John.*

He would fain bring us out of conceit with the good *ſucceſs* which God hath voutſaf'd us. Wee meaſure not our Cauſe by our ſucceſs, but our ſucceſs by our Cauſe. Yet certainly in a good Cauſe ſucceſs is a good confirmation; for God hath promis'd it to good men almoſt in every leafe of Scripture. If it argue not for us, we are ſure it argues not againſt us; but as much or more for us, then ill ſucceſs argues for them; for to the wicked, God hath denounc'd ill ſucceſs in all that they take in hand.

He hopes much of thoſe *ſofter tempers,* as he calls them, and *leſs advantag'd by his ruin, that thir conſciences doe already* gripe them. Tis true, there be a ſort of moodie, hot-brain'd, and alwayes unedify'd conſciences; apt to engage thir Leaders into great and dangerous affaires paſt retirement, and then, upon a ſudden qualm and ſwimming of thir conſcience, to betray them baſely in the midſt of what was cheifly undertak'n for their ſakes. Let ſuch men never meet with any faithfull Parlament to hazzard for them; never with any noble Spirit to conduct and lead them out, but let them live and die in ſervile condition and thir ſcrupulous queaſineſs, if no inſtruction will confirme them. Others there be in whoſe conſciences the loſs of gaine, and thoſe advantages they hop'd for, hath ſprung a ſudden leake. Theſe are they that cry out the Covnant brok'n, and to keep it better ſlide back into neutrality, or joyn actually with Incendiaries and

Malignants. But God hath eminently begun to punish those, first in *Scotland*, then in *Ulster*, who have provok'd him with the most hatefull kind of mockerie, to break his Covnant under pretence of strictest keeping it; and hath subjected them to those Malignants, with whom they scrupl'd not to be associats. In God therefore we shall not feare what their fals fraternity can doe against us.

Hee seeks againe with cunning words to turn our success into our sin. But might call to mind, that the Scripture speakes of those also, who *when God slew them, then sought him;* yet did but *flatter him with thir mouth, and ly'd to him with thir tongues; for thir heart was not right with him.* And there was one, who in the time of his affliction trespass'd more against God; *This was that King Ahaz.*

Hee glories much in the forgivness of his Enemies; so did his Grandmother at her death. Wise men would sooner have beleev'd him had he not so oft'n told us so. But he hopes to erect *the Trophies of his charity over us.* And Trophies of Charity no doubt will be as *glorious* as Trumpets before the almes of Hypocrites; and more especially the Trophies of such an aspiring charitie as offers in his Prayer to share Victory with Gods *compassion*, which is over all his Works. Such Prayers as these may perhaps catch the people, as was intended: but how they please God, is to be much doubted, though pray'd in secret, much less writt'n to be divulg'd. Which perhaps may gaine him after death a short, contemptible, and soon fading reward; not what hee aimes at, to stirr the constancie and solid firmness of any wise Man, or to unsettle the conscience of any knowing Christian, if he could ever aime at a thing so hopeless, and above the genius of his *Cleric* elocution, but to catch the worthles appro-

bation of an inconſtant, irrational, and Image-doting rabble. The reſt, whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or ſom error, leſs then fatal, hath for the time miſledd, on this ſide Sorcery or obduration, may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themſelves, and recover.

End of Volume the Firſt.

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